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Art. I. *The English Universities.* From the German of V. A. Huber, Professor of Western Literature, at Marburg. An abridged translation, edited by F. W. Newman, Professor of the Greek and Latin Classics at Manchester New College, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Pickering, London: Simms and Dinham, Manchester. 1843.

It appears distinctly from the appendices to this work, in connection with the editor's preface, that the translation was undertaken at the desire of Mr. James Heywood, a zealous university reformer, with the distinct aim of forwarding the cause of reform in that apparently hopeless quarter. That Mr. Heywood spared no effort and no expense upon the book, is clear in many ways; and we heartily hope that his zeal will have the reward which he desires. It might appear, on a casual glance, rather a blunder, to have selected for translation a History of the Universities, written by one whose views are so opposed to a reform carried by power from without, that those who have undertaken the task of ushering-in the work to the English public, think it requisite to devote their joint energies to impugn the sentiments of the author. At first sight we are disposed to murmur at the hard lot of university reformers, that, in spite of the intellectual superiority of the universities of Germany, the only German who has devoted erudition and pains to those of England, should throw himself into the gap to forbid their reform: and we might naturally wonder why Huber's work was not translated by a panegyrist of 'things as they are;' in which case the Oxonians would have been spared

Mr. Newman's polemical notes and preface, and Mr. Heywood's unpleasantly accurate statistics !

For the peace and quiet of the universities, it is perhaps to be lamented, that conservatism is not quite identical in Germany and in England. We must not open so large a page, as the discussion *why* it differs, and *how*. Let it suffice to say, that Professor Huber, as a Conservative in his own country, naturally sympathizes with those who are trying to check a popular movement in England ; nevertheless, he is very far from blind to the evils and vices of the established church, in all its branches and off-shoots. He desires the churches of Germany to be more independent than they are of the State ; and therefore he shrinks from every exertion of State authority, over the English church and universities, even for purposes which he would regard as beneficial. We perceive that on this head, the editor is not without a half-agreement with his author ; not that Mr. Newman desires to leave the universities to self-reformation ; on the contrary, he insists on the folly of hoping any satisfactory result from it—but he has a strong apprehension of the ignorance of an English parliament ; and, that in *this* quarter, incompetency and party spirit might chance to be intractably combined. It appears to us far from certain, that the author would disapprove of the reforms which his editor desires, though he cannot bear to have them brought about by anything so profane as an Act of Parliament. Under such a view of the author's mind, it is the less wonderful,—or at any rate, however it be accounted for, it is a fact,—that Professor Huber's history is exactly such a work as no English conservative in his senses would dream of bringing before the English public ; for it is the voluntary testimony of a friendly historian to their long continued worthlessness and baseness. We cannot pretend ever to have had a very high idea of the past excellence of either university, especially that of Oxford ; but we must say we never had pressed upon us such a painful and humbling sense of their badness, as Huber's history furnishes.

Great pains have been taken from time to time in recent years, to explain to the English public the difference between our universities and their colleges ; and yet, so frequent are misunderstandings, it is not superfluous here to add, that the colleges were originally mere *convictoria*, (Anglicè, boarding-houses,) superadded to the universities. All of these institutions have been founded since the 13th century ; indeed, the 15th arrived, before their predominant influence over the universities could be looked-on as an achieved fact. In consequence, Huber has to contemplate the academic history during two different periods : first, that during which the universities held the first place, and



were independent of the college system : and secondly, that in which the colleges have come forward as the leading, and indeed, the uncontrolled power. We also shall throw our remarks under two heads, to correspond :—

I. Under the older system, the universities were in every respect, both as to good and evil, the antipodes of what they have become under the new, except that they were then, as now, crippled by the church. *Then*, they attracted to themselves, not hundreds but thousands of youths, from the poorer and poorest classes, (when the population of England was of course trifling compared to its present amount) ; since the church was at that time the great door through which poor men of talents and energy ascended to the highest stations. Few, indeed, could attain these prizes ; but many were the competitors. A huge population of needy scholars flocked round the chairs of equally needy masters. Democracy was the order of the day. Whoever chose to beg his way to Oxford, and live by beggary until he had taken his degree, might set up for a university teacher, and, if he had superior talents, was certain of commanding the attention of a class : and although 'to milk he-goats' was as easy as to extract fees out of many of the pupils, yet the hard-living master was cheered not only by fame, and by the zealous attachment of his class, but by the sense that no sinecures existed, and much less could salaried idleness affect to despise him. Popular talents were needed for a teacher, nor could discipline be exerted with a high hand by seniors over juniors. As a remedy for disorder, an internal self-government was organized by the pupils, who elected their own officers, (called proctors,) with delegated but ample powers. Professor Huber labours much to show, that, as at the foreign universities, so in England, the students were divided into *nations*, according to their origin ; and that each nation elected its own proctor. The nations in Oxford were two, Northernmen and Southernmen ; but, to say the truth, there is little proof adduced of the existence of these at Cambridge : we have to rest entirely, it seems, on the argument from analogy. These proctors were intended far less for what we should now call 'discipline,' (which is a luxury such as those days could not dream of,) than for the most necessary police-restraint,—to hinder frays, wounds, and bloodshed. Several of Huber's passages are amusing, others are fearful and revolting, as to the out-bursts of riot to which Oxford was subject.

'The coarse and ferocious manners prevalent in the Universities of the middle ages, are everywhere in singular contrast to their intellectual pretensions. But the Universities of the continent were peaceful, decorous, dignified, compared with those of England. The storms which were elsewhere occasional, were at Oxford the permanent atmosphere. For

nearly two centuries, 'our foster-mother' of Oxford lived in a din of uninterrupted furious warfare; *nation* against *nation*, school against school, faculty against faculty. Halls, and finally colleges, came forward as combatants; and the university itself, as a whole, against the town or against the Bishop of Lincoln, or against the Archbishop of Canterbury. Nor was Cambridge much less pugnacious. Scarcely pope or king could interfere in matters, however needful, without unpleasant results. Every weapon was used. The tongue and pen were first employed; discussions before all kinds of judges, ordinary and extraordinary, far and near; negotiation and intrigue with all the powerful of the day; and when these failed, men did not shrink from the decision of violence,'—Vol. i., p. 71.

An edifying picture of a university! That, however, belongs to the old democratic system, and cannot be fairly set down as a presumption against their modern oligarchical state; nevertheless, there are a few touches towards the end, which seem to show, that the *Genius Loci*, so much talked of, has never deserted his favourite abode.

It may not be superfluous to explain one word in the last passage, which is eminently scholastic, namely, *faculty*. Studies differing in kind, such as theology, law, medicine, &c., received this name; and in the universities of the continent, the faculties were organized separately for internal regulation. Scarcely the shadow of this now remains at Oxford and Cambridge; for no one any longer goes to either seat of learning to study medicine, law, or theology; but what is vaguely called 'Arts,' *i.e.* Greek, Latin, and mathematics, has swallowed up every thing; and in consequence, mere Masters of Arts, (or heads of colleges who have no other literary pretension than Arts,) direct all the studies, and have the whole university-authority in their hand. To borrow political phraseology, 'class-legislation' may be complained of by the other faculties. This, however, was not so distinctly preponderating in the older system; which, enormous as were its defects and absurdities—judged of from a later standard—sincerely aimed at grasping all the knowledge of the day. But in truth it is hard to sympathize in any part of the older University-studies, except those—which shone for a moment, to be extinguished in the next—of Roger Bacon, and Wykliff. We will grant, that *any* activity of mind is better than total inactivity: not merely in itself, but more particularly because it cannot continue, without, sooner or later, finding out and pursuing a profitable channel; unless externally hindered: and this was really the course of the Middle-Age speculation. We will further grant, that in every free system, the most powerful minds will rise to the surface; and we have therefore no doubt, that the most prominent of the schoolmen were really men of great ability. But there was absolutely nothing in the scholastic course, as far

as we can learn of it from modern accounts, which deserves to be admired; and it only remains for us to lament, that the new and really fruitful philosophy which was beginning to bud, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was blighted and cast out by the universities or by the church which ruled them. Concerning the sciences pursued by Roger Bacon, Huber says:—

‘ While in the general there was a substantial identity between the scholastic learning of Oxford and of Paris, yet Oxford was more eager in following positive science; and this, although such studies were disparaged by the church, and therefore by the public. *Indeed, originally, the church had been on the opposite side*; but the speculative tendency of the times had carried her over, so that speculation and theology went hand in hand. In the middle of the thirteenth century, we may name Robert Grosseteste and John Basingstock, as cultivating physical science; and, more remarkable still, the Franciscan Roger Bacon, a man whom the vulgar held to be equal to Merlin and Michael Scott as a magician, and whom posterity ranks by the noblest spirits of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in all branches of positive science, except theology.’—Vol. i., p. 69.

It is well known how Bacon was imprisoned in his cell for ten years, by ecclesiastical bigotry; and his high popularity in Oxford, as well as the fame he enjoyed in all the Universities of the day, justifies us in believing, that, but for the power of the ‘church’ over the university, Oxford would have taken the lead of all Europe, in a brilliant career of discovery, and would have erected a fabric of sound permanent knowledge,—in the study of which the mind can learn its strength and its weakness,—instead of buildings of sand to be swept away as fast as they are raised. But we think that Huber has managed to give ‘the church’ an undeserved compliment, in the words which we have had printed in Italics; for a reader might imagine, that the clergy of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, had cultivated, or at least approved of, experimental and historical science. But, if we do not mistake, the only positive sciences to which Huber can appeal, are those technically designated, the *Quadri-vium*, i.e. arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music; the whole scope of which was, to settle the time of Easter by traditional rules, and to regulate the church anthems. That there was any sympathy between the spirit of such studies, and those of Roger Bacon, we are justified in being sceptical, until some proof of it is laid before us. In fact, we make some objection to the closing words of the passage, which imply, that theology, as pursued by the Reformers, was ‘positive science.’ Whatever it may be (or strive to be) in Germany, it is not so in England to this day; nor, we confess, do we see how it can be. It borrows help from various branches of positive human knowledge, such as history,



ethics, and philology in general; but it cannot resolve itself into these, without losing its character as Christian theology.

Deeper interest still is attracted to the movement which originated with Wykliff, and the force of which is not yet spent, nor all its work by any means done. Upon a name so well known, we need not dwell. Our readers are aware how clear and strong were that great man's views, concerning the reform needed in the church, and how little he was deterred by phantoms of political expediency from demanding a clean sweeping out of the Augean stable. It may, however, interest them to see Professor Huber's remarks on the internal struggle occasioned at Oxford, by Wykliff's lectures and tracts.

'One might have expected, that this great battle would be fought out at the Universities, and that the emergency would call out the most brilliant talents on both sides. It might have been so, *had not the higher powers from without, both temporal and spiritual, on each successive crisis crushed the adverse party in the universities*; thus entailing intellectual imbecility on the other side likewise, when a battle essentially intellectual and spiritual was never allowed to be fairly fought out. This has ever been the effect everywhere, but especially at the English universities; and it explains the extreme languor and torpor which prevailed in them at that time. . . . The long wars with France had broken her [the Oxonian] connection with Paris, and had tended to isolate the English schools, so that they entered little into European life; and this, doubtless, helped to degrade them as seats of learning. Yet the isolation was not complete; and probably this cause was less powerfully injurious, than the crushing of the rising intellect of the age, in the party of Wykliff. The real inferiority of the university of Oxford after that event, is so plain, that no impartial person will allow himself to be deceived by panegyrics, in bad taste and exaggeration, passed upon her by her fondly admiring sons.'—Vol. i., pp. 156, 157.

The reader will see, in the words which we have printed in Italics, the fallacy which misleads the historian into a blind dread of all *further* interference of the supreme power of the state with the universities. He sees that in past days, such interferences were injurious; and he infers, that they will be so in future; being, (we know not how,) blind to the fact, that the interferences which Reformers most desire, consist in striking off the state-and-church shackles which cripple the universities, and in assisting them to get rid of that 'intellectual imbecility,' which the author laments. The historical facts, as far as they go, show the evil of allowing what is called 'the church,' to regulate the universities; and we fearlessly say, that if the lessons of history have any weight, Oxford and Cambridge must be (to use a popular expressive word) 'unfrooked,' before they can be the highest schools of English science.

Professor Huber has some speculations, which are at least interesting, concerning the northern and southern elements, both *in* and *out* of the universities; and even if he has a little overdone his theory, it may still seem to have a nucleus of truth.

'In a philosophical survey, one may be allowed to remark on the analogy borne by these two [academic] Nations, to the grand European contrast of Germanic to Romanic races. . . . The tribes north of the Mersey and Humber were mainly Germanic, while in the southern portion of Britain the Normans and the Romanizing Anglo-Saxons predominated. The contrast of the two elements continues almost to this day; indeed, thirty years ago the Scotch and English were as strange to each other's feelings, as Germans to Dutch. Yet a fusion of the two began at a very early period, in consequence of the wars with Scotland, and afterwards with France; so that a new or *English* nationality developed itself. But southern Scotland still stood aloof, and maintained a far purer Germanic character; (for it is now well known *not* to be Celtic;) moreover, the mass of the English people, in contrast to the nobles, must be regarded as Saxon, and not French. The complication was increased by the growth of the great commercial towns of the south, London especially, which tended to exalt the Saxon element, and to amalgamate north and south. The advance also of intellectual cultivation, in language, poetry, and literature, had its chief spring in the middle orders, though I would not say that the nobles took no part in it. Difficult as it may be to bring demonstrative proof, it still seems reasonable to believe, that the two nations at the university of Oxford, represented in matter of fact this double element, and that with the progressive fusion in the country at large, they naturally lost their significance.'—Vol. i. p. 81.

'The distinction of *races* has vanished in the nation at large, and *political parties* have taken their place. We may however, remark, that Whiggery\* is of Scotch (or Germanic origin); while Toryism had its strength in the south. The southern element still prevails in the aristocratic and high church spirit, and in the *old fashioned* classical studies of the college system; and that this system is truly Romanic, may easily be proved by comparing it with the universities of Spain, which have suffered least disturbance in recent centuries. The Northern system, driven out of Oxford, took refuge in Edinburgh, the Athens of the north, where everything reminds us of the German universities, and of the German development of the Reformation. The main strength of the *liberal* intellectual development in the last half century has come from Scotland and the north. That is ever the seat of the animating spirit, though the material power which ultimately works out the results will be found in the populous and wealthy south; whether in the seventeenth or in the nineteenth century.'—p. 87.

\* The name is derived from *Whig*, the Scotch name for *sour whey*. *Tory* is well known to be a word of Irish origin, originally applied to Irish catholic outlaws.

In other words, the feudal yoke which the Norman conquest imposed on this country, has never been entirely shaken off our necks; yet the lower and middle orders, who represent the old Saxons, have been constantly tossing themselves to get free, and generally with some effect. Moreover, wherever the 'Church' was weakest, either from the poorness of her domains, or from the intelligence of a town population, there also feudalism was weakest. This appears to account for three-fourths of the phenomena alluded to.

Huber's fifth chapter, on the relations of the universities with the town corporations, contains a graphic picture of the internal disorders to which all universities have been more or less subject; and if our limits allowed, we should be glad to make some extracts. At the same time, we are not able to assent to his conclusion, that there was no remedy for the evils, except to confer supreme municipal power on the university. He appears to exaggerate the intrinsic difficulties of the problem, which are in fact mainly caused by a morbid and exclusive compassion for scholastic youths. If a peasant boy kills a rabbit with a blow of a stick, (or even runs after it!) he is punished without mercy: but, it seems, if a university youth knocks down a townsman, or breaks his windows, or insults his wife and daughter, it is a most cruel thing to enforce the common municipal law against him! We cannot sympathize with this tenderness. As for the intense bitterness of the town against the gown, which made the former unfit to execute the law, it was produced entirely (as Huber confesses) by the insolence and outrages of the gownsmen in a series of many generations; and would never have existed, if the municipal rights of the town had been steadily upheld by the King. But the King was less active to uphold the town, than the bishop and archdeacon to depress it; the ecclesiastical power gained for the university the exclusive jurisdiction over its own members, which it claimed. One thing, however, may be here allowed; that the universities were right to contend 'for *free trade* and an open market, by which they might get the *cheapest* supply of wholesome food.'—p. 129.

Our picture of the early universities is not complete, until we realize the position of *monkish fraternities* in them. In his tenth chapter Huber gives a vivid sketch of the battles of the mendicants against the common academicians in Paris and in Oxford, but to quote a part of it would be useless. It is enough to say, that before the rise of the colleges, the fixed internal discipline and hereditary policy of the resident monkish bodies, gave them, in the long run, great advantages in contending for their favourite objects; and that in the eyes of their contemporaries, they were dangerous innovators, 'who excited and puzzled the minds



and feelings of the youth with all kinds of new learning, and endangered the orthodox course of science and of the universities themselves.'—vol. ii. p. 117. This censure is quoted by Huber as 'reflecting praise' on the monks, and as sufficient to silence their modern detractors. But before we can admit this, we must hear what their 'new learning' was. The author is speaking of the 13th century, and we do not hear that the mendicants then introduced any new learning, for which they can claim our gratitude.

What now is the general outline of this earlier academic condition, during which the colleges were either not yet existing, or few, weak and wholly subordinate? We find an immense crowd of hungry rabble flocking to Oxford, not from love of science, but as a way to preferment; as long as the church is the main road by which men of low birth rise to distinction. We see the stream of students rapidly drained off, when, through the wars with Scotland and France and the increased importance of lawyers, two new ways of rising in the world open themselves to the Saxon commonalty. The secular clergy successfully vindicate their claim to regulate opinion in the universities, both against the lay teachers and against the monks or regulars; and between both orders, all rising genius is quenched. 'The spirit of study fled, and dead forms alone were left.' So much for the results of the earlier constitution under its stepdame, the falsely named 'church.'

II. The new constitution grew out of the old, by a gradual process, since the colleges were founded one by one, at more or less distant intervals: consequently, the academicians were themselves hardly aware how great a change was going on.

'During the period of transition,' says our Author, 'the life of the university was torpid. The speculative philosophy had lost its interest; the number of scholars was diminished, and the teachers had no stimulus, until classical studies reanimated them.'—vol. i. p. 153.

This new movement (he farther informs us, p. 216,) came neither from the church, nor from the universities, but from individual energy. 'The inward impulse was sustained by the co-operation, not of institutions, but of individuals. . . . It originated chiefly in private circles, and among the higher classes. With these the new literature was pursued as a free and polite art, conducing to the highest mental cultivation of an *extra-religious* kind.' Rich and intelligent men were hereby incited to found colleges, with the express desire (according to our Author) of promoting the study of the Greek and Latin classics; on which point he lays much stress, holding this to be the great glory of the colleges. Although there is here a sub-

stantial truth, we are disposed to think he overstates the fact. When we consider how anxiously many of the college-founders exacted 'prayers for their souls' from the poor clerks to whom they left their money; how many of them have restricted their benefits to persons of their own county, neighbourhood, family, and in one instance, even name; how generally they insist on their fellows taking holy orders; and how predominant are ecclesiastical considerations; it appears clear that other objects were often made of more importance than either new or old literature. No one indeed will question that, in spite of the convulsion of the Reformation and of the alternate violences practised by both parties, more Greek and Latin was learned in the universities than anywhere out of them; which was true, even in the eighteenth century. But the only period during which our Author can speak with even tolerable satisfaction concerning their performances is, during the second half of the fifteenth century, when the 'church' was too much at ease in her worldliness to intermeddle with the universities, and did not as yet suspect that the new studies would unsettle her supremacy. Professor Huber also bestows some thrifty praise on the universities during the commonwealth, when the somewhat 'greater [theological] freedom was not without its corresponding fruits.' vol. ii. p. 78. But *on every other period* we find his history to be nothing but a roll full of lamentation, mourning, and woe. As to the behaviour of the universities in the affair of Henry the Eighth's divorce from Katherine, it is so universally reprobated by candid historians, that we might have foretold that Huber would gravely condemn it. We did not, however, foresee (considering the danger, both personal and corporate, which they would have incurred by disobeying the royal tyrant) that it would be in the historian's mind so prominent and unpardonable a sin: and to say the truth, we think his indignation here is a little overwrought. It is interesting, however, to learn, that the younger men were all on the side of Katherine; 'an opposition,' says Huber, 'which sprang from the sound *freshness* of their feelings,' while 'the elder members were carried away by that weakness or self-interest which assumes the form of maturer wisdom.'—vol. i. p. 247. This is a striking proof that Oxford was already too exclusively oligarchical. More particular praise is deserved by Huber's graphic sketch, and his condemnation—not more spirited than just—of the hypocritical, hollow, unprincipled, and mischievous policy pursued by Elizabeth during her whole reign, in all matters pertaining to religion. We have always regarded, as deplorably misplaced, the current system of panegyric towards Elizabeth, against which he protests: but we were not adequately aware, before reading his history, of the ex-

tent to which the depravation of Oxford is ascribable to the power of Leicester, Elizabeth's unprincipled favourite. This he appears clearly to establish. However, at each successive retrospect, and under each particular head of law, medicine, theology, classics, and, we may add, on the moral and spiritual state of the academicians, Huber has nothing but an almost unvaried tale of evil. We should need to produce a large part of the work to verify this statement. In treating of the reigns of Henry VIII., Mary and Elizabeth, he boldly and fully avows the true cause of the perpetual barrenness of the universities, intellectual, moral, and spiritual. In quoting the following, we have to say, *O si sic omnia!*

'The cause of the failure is easy to discover. The universities had every thing, except the most necessary element of all, FREEDOM; which, by the immutable laws of nature, is always an indispensable condition of real and permanent prosperity in the higher intellectual cultivation and its organs. In vain has brute force at every time sought, for the sake of some political aim, to thwart this law of nature. Those shadowy beings, scientific officers and corporations, can never become a substitute for the genuine and wholesome energy of life. If we can do without this energy, it were better not to lose time and trouble in expensive experiments for infusing a galvanic existence. But if the true and natural life be needed, then let its pre-requisite be granted—mental freedom.'—vol. i. p. 291.

We regard it as quite a *lusus naturæ*, that this author declares it a presumptuous, unjust claim, and a 'transcendental folly' to advocate the abolition of the university test oaths! By a strange fatality, not his facts only, but all his reasonings, are such as would lead every one else to the opposite conclusion from that which he eagerly advocates.

We wish we could quote the whole of his discussion concerning the church and universities in the seventeenth centuries. Our readers may be interested in the following extract:

'In entering upon this subject, we are first struck by *the little attention paid to intellectual interests, in comparison to those of religious party*. . . . In the character of the church, we find some peculiar contradictions, and a strangely fluctuating aspect. On the one hand, she was struggling to shake off *the coarseness, confusion, indifference, and wildness of the Elizabethan period*; and to rise to a more dignified elevation, reposing on religious, moral, and intellectual foundations. On the other hand, we see in these praiseworthy efforts, only too often! a mere outward formalism, devoid of all deep-seated and hallowed spirit, and not worked out according to any living principle of inward and thoughtful consciousness; indeed, too much mingled with many extraneous, worldly, and even immoral and unchristian matters. The chief source of these defilements of the Anglican Church, appears to be *its connexion with the state*; or else with royalty, that is to say, with the King and Court.



This connexion arose out of the course taken by the Reformation in England,' &c.—vol. ii. p. 29.

'Theology might have been expected, in the midst of the ecclesiastical storms of the day, to have grown up a vigorous, though a one-sided plant. Within the limits of formal orthodoxy, as theoretically recognized by the Anglican Church, there was both room and material for constructing a stately building of learning; *but we can find none such at the universities,*' &c.—ib. p. 65.

The ever-repeated tale of 'unsatisfactory results' at both universities is accounted for by our Author in different phraseology at different times, but his meaning is at bottom always the same. He observes on it, as 'a fact necessary to save us from strange misconceptions,' that our universities 'were far less important in a scientific than in a political point of view;' a soft mode of stating, that they, like the national church, have been made a mere engine of state policy. But although this is the main evil, it is not the only one: a secondary and hardly less fatal obstacle to the intellectual efficiency of the universities, is found in their practical subjection to the colleges, and to the college statutes. The Author gives a detailed account of the successive steps by which this was effected; but it is evident that he most imperfectly discerns the mischief and injustice of the result. Private founders have enacted their own laws for the selection of the fellows and heads in each separate college; and Archbishops Whitgift and Laud have decreed or sanctioned that all university authority shall, directly or indirectly, be in the hands of men thus appointed by a private will! Moreover, as the clerical order is enormously predominant in the college fellowships, the result is, that in the universities, while theology is nominally one faculty out of four, the clergy are, in fact, the ruling body in every thing. Delicious to add!—as generally happens with dominant churches in proportion to their security—though the power (and as far as possible the wealth) of the clergy is so zealously cared for, theology, as a study, has no cognizable academic existence. Theological degrees are taken as a matter of routine, without any examination at all. It is a grotesque support which Huber lends to these unfortunately distorted corporations, when he justifies them for having only "one great principle," that of trying on each occasion to struggle for (what they are pleased to call) their privileges, by all and every means which offer.

'The inconsistency of such conduct disappears, if we judge of it from the ideas and wants of the parties concerned, and not from our own point of view. The GRAND PRINCIPLE actuating the universities (trivial as it may seem to highflying theorists) was, *to help themselves on each occasion as well as they could.* If the universities had any reason to suppose that they were more likely to obtain what they wanted in Rome than from the

archbishop and King, they had recourse to Rome. If they believed Rome to be pre-engaged by their opponents, or otherwise disinclined towards them, or too expensive, they were very glad to get help nearer at hand. What they most desired certainly was, to hold the decision in their own hands, and be independent of every higher court; reserving to themselves the right of invoking higher protection, *if circumstances should require it*. This, to be sure, was demanding things difficult to be combined: but after all, it was just what all corporations strive for—what in truth all the world strives for—to push their disadvantages to a minimum, their advantages to a maximum. . . . The policy of the universities may be traced to that which characterizes *all* corporations; the effort to extend, as far as possible, their independent and exclusive privileges. They endeavoured to obtain as much as the moment permitted, in the manner which the moment prescribed.'—vol. ii. p. 212.

We have never read a more pointed and vigorous enunciation of the cardinal sin of all corporations—*utter want of principle*: but it is really too bad that one who sees this so clearly should draw from it precisely the result opposed to common sense and equity. He distinctly tells us that *the only principle* of a corporation, even if it be a university or a (so-called) church, is *to be unprincipled in ambition*—to grasp after 'independent and exclusive privileges.' This is most true: not untrue of transitory corporations, such as chambers elected for four or seven years: more true of those which are for life: most true in regard to those, of which the members succeed by hereditary right, or by internal self-election, as in the old municipal bodies of England and the present universities. Professor Huber here puts his finger, as it were, on the reason which justifies in the public an intense jealousy of all corporate independence. The more thoroughly the man and the citizen is swallowed up in the member of the corporation, the more justly may we dread the unprincipled working of the corporate spirit. In no department of English life is this absorption so complete as in the little academical world. A peer may think much of his order; yet there are many things to make him study the welfare of the other orders, and draw him out of his own narrow circle of sympathies. He is not only a peer, but a landed proprietor and a fundholder: and in parliament he has to deal not only with the church of England, but with those of Scotland and Canada: he has to apply his principles of action to our relations with foreign states; and, though it must be confessed that our peers are slow learners, yet there are many things to teach them, and the honourable minority among them is large enough to be seen and appreciated by the public. But a resident at Oxford or Cambridge (always excepting the very few men of science, whose fame and audience are *extra-academical*), is absolutely nothing

in society except as a member of his college and of the university. Few of them are married: they have no children, for whose sake they would sympathize with the well-being of the nation: from their brothers they have been generally too long dissociated for that tie to be very influential: they see every thing as great or small, good or evil, according as it affects the wealth, power, and dignity of their immediate circle: and to increase its 'exclusive privileges' they would adopt whatever doctrines the convenience 'of the moment' might seem to demand. It is peculiarly inconsistent, in one who sees so clearly as Huber, that corporate interests (or, as he is pleased to call it, 'a true *living* party-spirit,') dictated all the proceedings of the universities, to ascribe to them so high credit for espousing the side of Charles I. Hereby, he says, 'they assumed an elevated attitude of the highest moral worth,' vol. ii. p. 9; forgetting (it might seem) that he had told us (p. 6) that they had calculated on the King being powerful enough to protect them. In this *miscalculation* there is no great disgrace, except as it is an index to the universally erroneous judgment, which (Lord Clarendon tells us) the clergy take of men and things. Fortified by such a contemporaneous authority, and by the tenor of their conduct on all other occasions, we believe that they espoused Charles's part, not from true heroism, but from ignorant ambition; borne along, as they were, in the channel which their habitual adulation of royalty had scooped out. To retrace their proceedings historically:—under the Edwards, when the popes were aiming to tax the clergy and the universities, both those corporations became strongly anti-papal and royalist in their doctrine: under the Tudors, when the Crown was more feared than the pope, they turned out vehemently papal. Under James II., who tried to act really the despotic part over the universities, which those bodies have generally vindicated in theory—to the extreme surprise of that bigoted and ill-used monarch—they became practical assertors of the right of rebellion. Once more: as soon as all danger from the Crown had blown over, under his successor, *hei presto!* by we-know-not-what conjuror's trick, they became supporters of the divine right of kings, and discontented jacobites. Professor Huber seems unable to repress sarcasm in alluding to their conduct towards James and William; while professing to explain the case charitably:

'When we consider the feeling which must have been engendered in Oxford by so many signs of the times, and lastly by the proceedings against Magdalen College, it cannot surprise us that deputies from this university were among the first to congratulate the Prince of Orange upon his landing, and to offer vigorous support. Those, however, who are acquainted with the history of the crisis are aware that the university



did not *intend* hereby to renounce her old principles, nor to sanction treachery to the legitimate dynasty and all the further consequences of this step. The Oxonians, like so many others of the party afterwards known under the name of 'Tories,' looked upon the Prince, not as a future usurper, but as *a god let down in a basket*. He was to protect the country from civil war—he was to restore the shattered state—he was to save and strengthen the rights of the crown and of the dynasty, as well as those of individuals and corporations. *How* this miracle was to be worked, and whether the possible, the necessary could be done without sacrificing the dynasty to the nation, may have been to the Oxonians, as to so many other worthy people, not so clear as perhaps was desirable. Hence, for a long time, they had various scruples and doubts,' &c.—vol. ii. p. 24.

Unhappy Oxonians! A foreign prince lands in England, supported by troops and ships, for the express purpose of compelling the native monarch to do justice to his subjects: the university, with child-like innocence, sends its deputies to him 'to offer vigorous support,' in perfect unconsciousness that she is violating her own principles—those for which she warred on the side of Charles I., at a time when the popular party certainly did not go so far as to call in a foreign army against their king. But have we not seen the same thing in our own day? A divinity professor was installed in Oxford by the legitimate authority of the Crown, but he was not acceptable to the university: and what was the effect? She who has dinned into men's ears the cry of 'church and state,' rebelled at once, and by an unprecedented vote of convocation crippled, as far as was possible, the functions of Dr. Hampden: a mixed body of laymen judging a case of heresy against a dignified clergyman, a university interfering with the distribution of patronage, which by law, by right, and by immemorial undisputed usage belongs to the Crown. When Professor Huber shows the English public how reasonable it is for a university ('because it is a corporation') to play fast and loose, we have no doubt that our countrymen will know what conclusion to draw.

The chief fault which we find in this historian is, a certain wilfulness of mind, which forbids his dealing with practical and present questions with the same candour which he exercises towards the past and unpractical ones. The principles which he advances in treating of the Tudors, and we may almost add, of the Stuarts, are such as, if admitted, decide everything against our existing system: but (as does Sir Robert Peel in regard to the corn laws) he likes the luxury of professing truth in the abstract, and rejecting its application in the particular instance. And as our premier preached free trade while opposing it, so does Huber, even at the close of his work, boldly preach the necessity of free-

dom for the professors of divinity, (and the urgent call on the *universities* to consider that subject,) vol. ii. p. 410, while he not only disapproves of that freedom being granted by the only power which can grant it—the state—but predicts the most fatal results from abolishing subscription to the articles! It would seem that he wishes none but divinity professors to be exempted from the subscription: a singular state of things, which would exhibit to us the edifying spectacle of professors enforcing on their pupils as truth many things which the pupils have been made to swear they will not believe.

But after we have said all that is to be said of the Author's faults, his sterling worth is to our mind great, and the mass of information collected, both in the text and in the voluminous notes, elaborate. The utterly unreadable work of Anthony Wood is now at last made available to the English public; and whatever of tedium attached itself to Huber's fuller discussion of the very early history, has been lessened by the process of condensation which the 'Editor' (as he is called) of this 'abridged translation' has employed. Several ample appendices added, in part by him, in part by Mr. Heywood, make the English work more valuable than the original: and in the discussions to be expected on university reform we trust that Mr. Heywood will not be disappointed in his hope, of having here put before the English public important materials for forming a sound judgment. On that ample topic we cannot enter in this article; and therefore we make no remark on Mr. Newman's preface, and the views which he therein maintains: but we hope ere long to give to so important a question the consideration which it deserves.

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Art. II. *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal: with Extracts from his Writings, and from Despatches in the State Paper Office, never before published.* By John Smith, Esq., Private Secretary to the Marshal Marquis de Saldanha. 2 vols. London: Longman & Co. 1843. Svo.

THE palmy days of Portugal must be sought for amidst the shadows of history. Her present state is one of convulsion and disaster. But the time was, when she approved herself the Phenicia of the Atlantic: a strip of narrow but fertile territory, rearing the boldest mariners of an active age, during which European civilization seemed rapidly passing from its medieval to its modern condition. Romance and feudalism, with no small portion of superstition, were struggling along the fair banks of

the Tagus against the crescent of Islam, when one of the counts of Burgundy acquired a footing where Oporto now stands. His son, Alphonso, conquered the Alemtejo, and defied the whole force of an Arabian host, which had settled upon the plains of Ourique, as thick as locusts, to destroy him. It was in the year 1139. The christian prince fancied himself another Gideon, destined to achieve a miraculous victory; and having fallen asleep, his dreams were such as might have been expected. A venerable hermit invited him to his cell, where a shining figure appeared to him in the east, eclipsing the splendour of the starry heavens. 'I am the Lord Jesus,' said the apparition, 'and thine arms, Alphonso, shall be blessed. I set thee as a king over my people: for sixteen generations my favour shall not depart from thy house; and even further than this it shall descend.' The vision, of course, was too good not to be true, and raised to its highest pitch the enthusiasm of his warriors. They overthrew their enemies with decisive slaughter, and forthwith saluted their leader as sovereign on the field. The following century added the Algarves; and the Moors were extirpated, from the Minho to Faro. We have mentioned the legend, because it has stamped its character upon the nation. Priestcraft wove the web of Lusitanian greatness, from the military election of her first heroes down to its last transient revival, under the auspices of Dom Joseph, whose minister is intended to be portrayed in these volumes. They are most handsomely got up as to paper and letter-press, with coronets upon the covers; and for a frontispiece the picture of their subject. His features look out upon the reader with more amplitude of lineament, and artificial powdered curls, than we should have thought quite in keeping with the man of papers and worn-out premier, who rebuilt a metropolis, where in summer no one but a native or a salamander can subsist; but their general expression is thoughtful, and by no means disagreeable. He may be said to have governed his native country for seven and twenty years; whilst so rare is anything approaching intellectual superiority in the Peninsula, that we may forgive his biographer for quoting the celebrated passage from Thucydides upon the graves of great men, and dedicating his somewhat sterile lucubrations to the patronage of Sir Robert Peel.

Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello were the names of this statesman, who is known in modern annals by the titles of Count d'Oeyras and Marquis of Pombal. The latter will answer for his cognomen through the few pages which we can afford for recording his achievements. He was born on the 13th of May, 1699, at Soure, a small village not far from the town of Pombal. His father was a country gentleman, of mo-



derate but independent fortune, a provincial fidalgo, answering to that rank which an esquire may hold amongst ourselves. His youthful studies were limited to what the university of Coimbra then deemed orthodox—no very ample circle as may be supposed. Yet, whatever were his opportunities, he certainly made the most of them. The army, strange to say, was his first step on the stage of life, in which he entered as a private, and from which he withdrew as a corporal! The peace of Utrecht had hushed the wars of Europe; so that having nothing to do, he surrendered himself to the study of history, politics, and legislation. An uncle luckily introduced him to Cardinal Motta, the minister of John the Fifth; through whom, in 1733, he was appointed a member of the Royal Academy of History, recently founded. In the same year he married a widow of high birth and considerable notoriety; notwithstanding all which, it was not until 1739 that he obtained employment, being then nominated as ambassador from the court of Lisbon to Great Britain. His residence in London opened before him a new world. Good plain practical sense seems to have been the principal characteristic of his mind. Brilliancy was never dreamed of amidst the monks and friars, the mummeries and profligacies, which had stifled all genius and first-rate ability, in a land whence Camoens had been exiled to China, that he might return home and perish in an almshouse. Pombal exerted himself in settling some points of international law; and by his means the privileges of foreign envoys were carefully ascertained. The arrest of his physician for debt presented the opportunity. Meanwhile, instead of learning our language, he analysed the English constitution through French authors; who led him, moreover, to a careful contemplation of Sully, and Richelieu, and Colbert. The first became his favourite and model. Sir Robert Walpole had been long waning in the political firmament. Pulteney and his associated patriots had belied their professions, and were overwhelmed with the execrations of a disappointed public. The tempest of rebellion was already gathering in the horizon; and, in 1745, Pombal was recalled at his own request. His thoughts still ran upon the pleasure of being honestly useful in his day and generation; and disputes having arisen between Rome and Vienna about the extinction of a patriarchate at Aquileia, both the pope and empress agreed to accept Portuguese mediation. King John had married an Austrian princess, who was now regent of the country during her husband's indisposition. The insane monarch, moreover, had just purchased the title of Most Faithful from his holiness, who had also sold, at an enormous price, the elevation of the Lusitanian church into a distinct patriarchate. Benedict XIV. and Maria Theresa therefore looked to Lisbon

for an able envoy, and Pombal was chosen. He perfectly succeeded at Vienna with regard to the object of his mission; but losing his wife at the imperial court, he married again, selecting for his new consort a daughter of the celebrated Count Daun. Maria Theresa owed her throne to the still more illustrious marshal of that name; so that when Pombal returned home at the beginning of 1750, his fortune was considered as already secured. In that year John the Fifth died, bequeathing to Joseph the First the splendours of Mafra, an exhausted treasury, an opulent and haughty religious establishment, and a thoroughly discontented people. The new sovereign, about as profligate as his predecessors, and with an equally neglected education, possessed just sufficient discernment to perceive that Portugal was on the verge of ruin,—that a minister was necessary who would both reform and govern,—and that Pombal was the very man. He called him forthwith to almost absolute power, and never forsook him throughout his reign.

Matters were in a frightful state. Three millions sterling of debt, then thought enough to encumber any crown, had been the result of erecting splendid monasteries, and pampering a sleek priesthood. Licentiousness and hypocrisy saluted each other in open day; whilst the convents of nominal popery were neither more nor less than royal harems! 'The highest classes of the nobility disgraced themselves by the most savage and sanguinary excesses. The streets of Lisbon echoed at nightfall with their riotous shouts and hateful brawls. The lives of quiet citizens, lost in self defence, or expended in wanton frolic, were unavenged and unatoned for. Aristocratic malefactors, screening themselves through their riches, or sheltering themselves under their rank and affinity to the crown, escaped unpunished and unmolested.' Even the Jews had forsaken the capital, after offering a bribe of £200,000 sterling for personal protection. The Cortes had not been assembled since 1698. Clergy and nobles usurped the deliberative and executive functions of government; the former drugged every conscience, and picked every pocket within the sphere of their influence. If the ghost of Ignatius Loyola could have been upon earth, it would have here reigned and revelled. The jesuits were more than triumphant: they were dominant and ubiquitous. There seemed no limits to their superstition and ostentation—their profusion and opulence. Their miniature chapel in the parish of St. Roque, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and not more than seventeen feet by twelve in dimensions, cost the administration nearly a quarter of a million sterling, for marbles and decorations,—for lapis lazuli, porphyry, amethysts, chrysolites, alabasters, silver and gold! The hierarchy bowed before them, amidst magnifi-

cence rivalling or even surpassing that of Rome itself. Besides the regular bishops, there was a college of twenty-four prelates attached to the patriarchate, with one hundred subsidiary dignitaries, all graduated in rank, endowed with revenues, and invested with such titles, privileges, immunities, and vestments, as that Lisbon might be another spiritual Babylon. What are all religious establishments but so many reflections of the scarlet lady in the Revelations? This recent instance of madness and fanatical national vanity drew annually £80,000 sterling from the royal revenues of Portugal. At that time, there were no less than eight hundred monastic institutions within her provinces. One tenth of the entire population was thus withdrawn from the pursuits of industry into these dens of laziness and immorality. 'There existed a nominal navy and a nominal army; dismantled fortresses and abandoned castles; nominal lines of defence, and nominal regiments of observation: in short, the government was but the skeleton of an executive power: it wanted all that gives life to it,—men, money, munitions of war,—the blood, sinews, and sustenance of a country.' Whilst King John lay in the last agonies of death, some Algerine corsairs actually anchored off Cape Spichell, within a few miles of Lisbon, the fort being unable to offer the slightest effectual resistance.

Pombal began his labours, like a man walking over red hot ploughshares, with cautious steps. To have put his foot down, but for one moment, in a wrong place, would have sealed his destiny; for, besides burning his soles, the Holy Inquisition would have pounced upon him *ipso facto*, as a guilty criminal,—devoted fuel for the fire of an auto-da-fé! He was obliged to lull suspicion by seeming to be blindfolded, though always resolved to peep through his bandages as often as possible. The first blow he struck was at that very Inquisition itself, the conservative star chamber and high commission court of his native land. Any minister, who in the middle of the last century dared to touch the mantle of Mother Church, must have been a bold man. He saw, 'that such an institution as the Inquisition was perfectly incompatible with the progress of the arts, the existence of science, or the presence of liberty, and determined at whatever hazard to reduce the authority of that miscalled holy office.' By one decree in 1751, he quietly subjugated the whole affair to the good-will and pleasure of the crown; so that it thenceforward dwindled to the rank of an ordinary tribunal. The priesthood, long accustomed to consider the sceptre of the sovereign as a mere staff in their own hands, failed to see at first that the talisman of their power must be thereby neutralised. Pombal, meanwhile, threw handfuls of dust in their eyes, by



obtruding upon public notice sundry popular and secular reforms. He repaired the fortifications, manufactured gunpowder, modified the lucrative diamond contract, regulated the fisheries, improved the laws relating to successions, and established the first sugar-refinery. Within two years he had turned his attention to the production of silk, and a general reformation of the police. Special commissions brought the stoutest offenders to justice, permitting industrial operations to proceed in security. The lower classes already began to breathe freely. Taxes had hitherto proved curses both to those who paid, and those who received them. Multitudinous collectors had appropriated enormous revenues upon a system of peculation, bribery, oppression, and monopoly. The new minister frayed away whole clouds of these devourers from the face of reviving agriculture. He then carried his pruning-knife into all the details of royal expenditure. Fourscore kitchen officials were reduced to twenty. The household expenses of the palaces were cut down to less than one half. Debt rapidly disappeared, as all extravagance expired. One treasurer, with a clerk, superintended the entire excise. Municipalities were awakened into efficiency, and brought to bear upon judicious fiscal arrangements. It cost him ten years, however, to carry out his plans, which involved the abolition of twenty-two thousand tax-gatherers! He substituted the *decima* in the place of the oppressive military subsidy; and reduced the cost of collecting the revenue to one and a half per cent. on the gross amount. Great Britain may take some lessons from the simplicity and economy which were introduced into every department. Each cruzado received or expended 'was entered in a book, in the same manner as the items in the ledger of a merchant or a banker. These books were carefully examined by the king and his minister, who took care that the assessments were scrupulously paid, and no arrears allowed. A balance-sheet was weekly presented by Pombal to his sovereign, from which a general view of the public finances was obtained; and Dom Joseph retired to rest, with the satisfaction of being at all times acquainted with the precise condition of his treasury.' During this period, and for three quarters of a century later, England and her aristocracy clung to their wooden tallies in the exchequer, as though such relics of barbarism had formed the palladium of empire! Whilst the national burthens of the mistress of the seas were accumulating, Portugal was diminishing every impost, and adjusting its pressure to the means of her various classes of population. Her native subjects numbered from two and a half to three millions. The duties payable amounted to something between £3,000,000 and £3,500,000 per annum. When Pombal retired from office, he had cleared

off incumbrances, restored his country to her national rank amongst European powers, revived her army and navy, planted various manufactures, reformed the entire administration of her colonies, encouraged internal prosperity and foreign commerce; besides accumulating within the royal coffers an available capital to the extent of seventy-eight millions of cruzados!

An awful visitation of Providence materially promoted his views, by prostrating, as it were, the very pride of Portugal in the dust. Lisbon had been as guilty as Sodom, and as vile as Gomorrah! On the 1st of November, 1755, one of the balmy mornings broke upon the Tagus which the eye or mind of man could desire. 'All nature seemed to rest in perfect confidence in the calm beauty of the serene and deep blue sky, and the stillness of the silent air.' It was All Saints'-day, ushered in with festive pomp and religious ceremonial. Who shall tell what an hour may bring forth? Within ten minutes the queen-capital of the Atlantic became a heap of undistinguishable ruins. Convulsive shocks toppled down the illuminated steeples of the churches upon the palaces of the nobles. Whole streets rocked like cradles, and disappeared: yawning gulfs opened on all sides, vomiting forth ashes and flames. Some fled towards the river, but in vain: it suddenly rose to an extraordinary height, bursting its banks, and sweeping away every barrier before it. Vast ships were at once absorbed in a whirlpool of waves; whilst others, wrenched from their anchors, dashed furiously together, and went to pieces. Thirty thousand persons perished by fire and water. The prisons gave up their flagitious inmates amidst the general horror and confusion. Such as escaped being crushed beneath falling edifices, laid the reins upon the neck of appetite, so that cruelty, pillage, and crime, mingled like demons in the catastrophe, and filled up the vials of the wrath of God. The damage done was estimated at £7,000,000 sterling, even as money went a century ago. Twenty tons of molten silver were afterwards extricated in masses from the overthrown mansions and public buildings. From the ruins of the patriarchal residence a single cross was recovered, worth £30,000! Portugal trembled throughout the length and breadth of her borders. Setubal suffered most severely, as did also the Algarves. During the overthrow, the royal family were at Belem, in consternation and tears. The ground vibrated, as the king exclaimed to Pombal, who had just arrived, 'What must be done to meet this infliction of divine justice?' His minister calmly replied, 'Bury the dead, and feed the living'—an answer which sounded more as coming from an oracle than an ordinary mortal, in the estimation of an imbecile and terrified court. Throwing himself into his carriage, he hurried back to the scene of calamity, and the sphere of his

duties. For many nights he never slept under a roof. Two hundred decrees, relative to the earthquake, are said to have been issued from the vehicle, in which he rode and resided. A pencil served for a pen, and his knee for a desk. He proclaimed a sort of martial law; and, by drawing troops round the city, so as to prevent the escape of felons with their booty, he preserved an enormous amount of property for its lawful owners, which otherwise would have been carried off. Notorious thieves were hanged upon the spot. The wounded were removed, and their wounds dressed. The houseless poor were collected, and lodged in temporary huts. Provisions were gathered from all possible quarters; nor was England backward in transmitting her overflowing benevolence to the assistance of an old and now unfortunate ally. A British man-of-war immediately carried out £97,000 worth of beef, butter, flour, biscuit, wheat, rice, utensils, ready money, and shoes. There were twenty-eight men, and about fifty women, destroyed in the catastrophe, who were British subjects. Pombal, in fact, restored order and revived confidence. He had the corpses, which strewed the public ways, all interred, either in the earth or in the sea, with as little delay as possible. The clergy were ordered to recommence their sacred functions; but the Jesuits openly declared that the earthquake had been sent to punish Portugal for attempting ecclesiastical reformatations. The case of Uzziah was no doubt cited then, as it would be by the Puseyites now. Nevertheless, the common people could not help seeing that Pombal meant well, and was the solitary pillar upon which the nation could at all lean for real support. So that when the disciples of Loyola consummated their folly and fanaticism, by prophesying that on the anniversary of the fatal All Saints-day there would be a repetition of the calamity, the failure of their predictions still further diminished their influence, whilst it augmented that of the energetic minister. He laboured with heart and soul to rebuild the city. That portion on which the Rocio square now stands, emerged into far greater splendour than it had ever known before. Strength and regularity were aimed at, and attained. A public garden was for the first time laid out. Sewers were constructed in the new streets, which were rendered handsome, solid, clean, and well paved. All the existing edifices, of any consequence, were planned and executed under his administration; but the magnificent promenade which he designed to form on the shores of the lovely Tagus, from Santa Apollonia to Belem, a distance of two leagues, was never even commenced. Had this grand design been carried into effect, and planted with trees in the manner he intended, it would have attracted the curiosity and excited the admiration of the most



remote posterity, as it would have surpassed every thing of the kind, either for grandeur or magnificence, in Europe or the world.'

The intellectual and political weight of Pombal thus grew continually greater. His enemies, from their cloisters and confessionals, gnashed their teeth with rage; whilst the lower classes magnified him. Governors may depend upon it that it is a mighty point to have the bulk of the people with them. The Jesuits, meanwhile, waxed desperate, as the lustre of their character waned. Their management of the university was absolute. Successive popes had either checked or fostered their ambitious policy and practices according to circumstances. In South America they were laying deeper and deeper the foundations of an ecclesiastical sovereign power; so that with regard to some proposed interchanges of territory between Spain and Portugal, they dared to interfere and resist. Pombal lost no time in adopting the most decisive measures. Moreira, confessor to his Majesty, received a peremptory dismissal. This was accompanied by an order on the 19th of September, 1757, that no member of the Society of Jesus should approach the Court, without express permission from the King. Reiterated complaints were also forwarded to the Court of Rome, so that Cardinal Saldanha was appointed to reform the entire fraternity. He acted with considerable frankness and vigour on the occasion—suspending these obnoxious fathers from almost all sacred functions, and more especially from preaching and absolution. Dom Joseph stood manfully by his minister, who had happily established the sorcery of a strong mind over a weak one. There was no chance, therefore, for the janizaries of Mother Church, but conspiracy and assassination. The Duke of Aveiro became their willing instrument, together with the Marquis of Tavora and his lady, their two sons, the Count of Atougeia, and five others of less note. The King was on his way home, probably enough from some vile intrigue, when no less than four blunderbusses, heavily loaded with slugs, were discharged at his carriage. More were yet in reserve, had not Dom Joseph, being severely wounded, directed his servant to turn back immediately and drive to the house of the royal surgeon. Here, as in all despotisms, a curtain of mystery seemed to fall over the whole affair. Three months of ominous silence ensued, during which no overt act betrayed the meshes of that legal net, in which the wily premier, through secret spies, contrived to enclose almost every individual concerned. At length all were suddenly denounced, successively arrested, and barbarously punished. Pombal has incurred severe, and, in our judgment, just censure, for resorting to the rack and the stake, when, even in that day, simple

decapitation might have answered his purpose. Of the guilt of these wretches there could be no shadow of doubt. But the Marchioness of Tavora was merely beheaded 'in consideration of her rank and sex : ' and why, we would ask, were all human sympathies to be violated in the other instances? Her family and name were directed to be abolished for ever ; and even the stream watering their estate, from which they derived their title, was thenceforward to be denominated the River of Death ! Their ground of complaint against the Crown had been the refusal of a ducal coronet : but Aveira and the Jesuits bore deeper grudges. Some of the accessories remained in prison for an indefinite term, either for life, or for many years, until the commencement of the next reign. It is said that about two hundred and fifty persons were consigned to longer or shorter incarceration. The notorious Malagrida, a worthy successor to Ignatius Loyola, with seven accomplices, were amongst the numbers. The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal, and all their property sequestrated. Rome thundered in vain. Her representative, holding a high tone, received orders to quit Lisbon in four days : and that society, which had shaded like a upas tree, the ecclesiastical morals of all Europe, received a blow, from which to the present hour it has never recovered. In one word, it was the fearlessness with which he braved spiritual magic, which stamped Pombal as no ordinary man. In this age and country we can scarcely conceive an idea of the courage requisite for such enterprises : although when Earl Grey presumed to handle the Anglican hierarchy, it looked something like the over-acted prowess of Van Amburg in his den of lions—more appalling than quite natural ! The Portuguese premier followed up his victories by a suppression of one-half of the convents in the kingdom, and a very decided reformation of the rest. His lay countrymen grew delighted, and inscribed his portrait with the Horatian eulogy—*Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori*. They felt that the power and fatness of the priesthood were getting more properly dispersed and circulated through the general frame of the body politic.

Meanwhile, the minister turned all his transient popularity to the best account. His acquaintance with political economy, at the commencement of his long administration, might call up not a few blushes into the cheeks of our own conservative statesmen. He perceived and checked the dangerous disposition of the nation he governed to consider gold and silver mines as the only real sources of wealth. He drew attention to the difference between fictitious and permanent opulence. 'The riches of the so-termed precious metals are often chimerical to the states possessing the mere territories whence they are extracted. Such states become but the distributors of their own treasure,

The negroes that work in the mines of Brazil must be clothed by England, by which the value of their produce becomes relative to the price of cloth. To work the mines, it becomes necessary to have a large capital expended on slaves. If this sum be £20,000,000, the interest, which is one million, independent of the cost of extraction, must be the first money paid from that produce. Add to this the food and clothing for more than a hundred thousand persons, blacks and whites, which the mines carry to Brazil; which food is not to be had in the colony, but must be purchased from foreigners. Lastly, to supply the physical wants of the country, which, since the discovery of the mines, has lost its arts and manufactures, all the gold becomes the property of other nations.' Now, in much of this, it is perfectly true, that there are no slight crudeness and absurdity mingled with some truth: but the excellence lay in its inducing the minister to foster industry at home rather than speculation abroad—for his conviction was that there never was a 'rich king and an impoverished people.' Hence, after the abolition of the board of commerce, which had long been a monster monopoly, like our own East India Company in England, or the venerable Hong at Canton in China, he founded a new Junta do Commercio, with fresh statutes, and powers almost inquisitorial, against smuggling. He then endeavoured to break down those stupid barriers of caste, which made his native aristocracy deem it a derogation from their dignity to engage either directly or indirectly in trade. He at once authorized the nobility to hold shares in the Maranhao and Para Company, declaring that, as the object of that establishment was 'to render the kingdom of Portugal flourishing, it was both just and proper that all persons, however high their rank, should be allowed and encouraged to contribute to the well-being of the state.' The royal silk manufactories were also fast culminating into vigour. He contrived to form, moreover, a mercantile association known by the name of the Pernambuco and Paraiba Company; whilst corresponding reaction at home enabled him to restore woollen manufactories to Beira, and promote its agricultural prosperity at the same time. All central South America felt the advantage of these improvements. The mother country called for more raw materials and tropical productions: the colonies consumed greater quantities of wrought fabrics. Both flourished accordingly. But it reflects still higher honour on Pombal, that amidst his various schemes for either Lusitanian or transatlantic aggrandizement, he never forgot the civilization of the Indians. Their moral advancement lay very near his heart. When the suppression of the Jesuits had strengthened his powers over the Brazils and Paraguay, he issued numerous instructions, which



were promptly observed, for gaining the affections and securing the allegiance of those oppressed races, stigmatized hitherto as savages. They were gathered into villages under the jurisdiction of a director. Two schools were attached to each, one for boys, and another for girls. Christianity, reading, writing, arithmetic, with all the useful arts suited respectively to the different sexes, experienced more than cold state patronage: for they were duly and effectively cultivated. Proper clothing was enjoined; horticulture and the growth of rice, cotton, and tobacco were warmly encouraged; annual schedules had to be transmitted home, demonstrating that a certain proportion of land was under the spade or plough; and lastly, all young persons were taught Portuguese. Several decrees from the minister may be favourably contrasted with the bombastic tone of our own oriental or colonial proclamations. 'When agriculture flourishes,' says Pombal, 'the most efficacious means of conducting a kingdom to prosperity is the introduction of manufactures and commerce; since they enrich the people, civilize and enlarge their minds, and consequently the state becomes powerful. Commerce essentially consists in the sale or exchange of produce, and in the reciprocal communication of nations: from the first result profit and riches: from the last we acquire humanity and civilization. *The soul of commerce is in the liberty of the people:*' a truly remarkable sentiment, when the age, circumstances, and position of the individual enunciating it are all taken into consideration.

The fact, however, is little known, that Pombal was a zealous friend to national education. 'The cultivation of literary pursuits,' he observes, 'forms the basis of all the sciences, and in their perfection consists the reputation and prosperity of kingdoms.' We venture upon an extract from our biographer, which may furnish our readers also with a fair specimen of his style and manner:

'I have already more than once alluded to the anxiety Pombal expressed upon all occasions, and the pains he took to extend the blessings of education, as well as civil and religious liberty among the people. He hoped, by these means, to lay the foundation on which, at a future period, the superstructure of a free government might be erected. He was well aware that if popular governments are to be any thing but shadows, they must be based on popular knowledge. He felt that his country, without the aid of education, would be unfit for any of those forms of free government, which, when the people are ignorant, too frequently confer absolute powers upon factions, who enjoy the good for which others have toiled. The talents of that statesman are not to be estimated very highly, who has so little knowledge of history, and is so ignorant of human nature, as to imagine that constitutions are to be modelled and remodelled, and worked with the same ease and

regularity as an inanimate machine. Pombal perceived that the spirit of revolution was abroad, that in his time it was slow in progress, yet irresistible; and he therefore wished his countrymen to be prepared for its advent. With a presentiment of the evils that menaced his successors, he frequently exclaimed, *Os meos filhos ainda poderas viver descansados, mas ai de meos netos*. Our children may live to end their days in peace, but God help our grandchildren! This remarkable prophecy has been but too truly fulfilled in the various disasters which have distracted, and still continue to distract, the once rich and happy Portugal. To prepare his countrymen, then, for the changes which he saw to be inevitable in Europe, he endeavoured to raise them to the same state of education which some European countries already enjoyed. But various obstacles impeded his progress, and foiled his best directed efforts.' vol. ii. pp. 163, 4.

In truth, the task was from first to last the having to make bricks without straw. Nevertheless, he commenced at the top of the social pyramid, intending to work downwards. A decree informed the capital and provinces, that the Jesuits had poisoned the sources of classical literature, through their patronage of bad grammars. Better ones were therefore to be substituted; nor can we forbear a smile at the idea of a premier becoming the schoolmaster of schoolmasters, and arch-pædagogues to a whole kingdom. In every town, Greek and Latin professors were stationed, to teach their respective languages, together with rhetoric, logic, and other literary mysteries. The privileges of nobility were in part conferred upon these state-teachers, with the solid pudding of some moderate salary to support their rank. An institute was set up at Lisbon in 1759, for affording instruction in the higher branches of a commercial education, which answered remarkably well; precluding as it did the necessity which previously existed of sending to Genoa and Venice for efficient clerks and linguists. Coimbra, however, was first to be reformed—that university, which was to Portugal what Salamanca has been to Spain, and what Oxford now is to ourselves. Who shall be the Pombal amongst us, to blow the last horn along the banks of the Isis and Cherwell, dissolving into air those enchanted halls, where bigotry and prejudice have buried the treasures of superstition amidst the cobwebs of antiquity? Our hero armed himself with the office of Lieutenant-General of the University of Coimbra! He took the monks by the beard, in their darkest cavern, and came back alive, notwithstanding. He ascertained that in the Greek class there were only seven students, out of about six thousand, whose names appeared on the books. Remedies had to be applied with a ruthless hand. Externally all matters underwent a most complete transformation. Two new faculties, one of natural history, and the other of mathematics, astonished the wearers of gowns and surplices, who

howled and coughed themselves hoarse at such tremendous heresies. Vacations were shortened, attendance was exacted at lectures, punishments were enforced impartially, nor was the degree of Doctor in Theology to be conferred in future, without an acquaintance with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Museums, with a laboratory and observatory, crowned this good work, besides the establishment of eighty professorships. The Marquis himself drew up a neat memorial on the subject of botanic gardens, replete with good sense and sound notions of economy. His predecessors in this department had been Italians, whom he bitterly reproaches, 'for having uselessly laid out the exorbitant sum of more than one hundred thousand cruzados in forming a little garden near the Ajuda palace, as a mere object of curiosity.' He ridicules the folly of the followers of Linnæus, who wasted fortunes to shew 'a marigold from Persia, a lily from Turkey, and a tribe of aloes with an infinity of pompous names.' His own views were strictly scientific, practical, and utilitarian. 'You will accordingly,' he observes, 'reduce the number of plants to those necessary for botanic studies, in order that the students may not be ignorant of this branch of medicine, as it is practised with little expense in other universities. And to leave no doubt on the subject, you may say that his majesty will not allow a larger or more sumptuous garden than that of Chelsea near London, the most opulent capital in Europe; and add, that on this same principle, the plan is to be formed, and a calculation made of the expense of raising a garden for the study of youths, not the ostentation of princes, or of those extravagant individuals, who ruin themselves to be able to show blites, purslanes, and pudding-grass from India, China, and Arabia.' From the instruction of the higher classes he now proceeded to the middle and lower ones. By November, 1772, he had settled no less than eight hundred and eighty-seven respectable schoolmasters, and professors, as already mentioned, in the Portuguese dominions, ninety-four of which were appointed to the colonies, but all and each for the gratuitous education of the subjects of his most faithful majesty. Annual returns were arranged for every one of these tutors, as to the numbers, progress, and condition of their pupils. The educational cycle of more than half only comprehended reading, writing, and arithmetic; two hundred and thirty-six were for Latin, and eighty-eight for Greek classes, answering to our better sorts of free grammar schools; forty-nine others taught rhetoric, in addition to the general plan; and thirty comprised general philosophy in their course. What Prussia is enjoying at the present time, Portugal had cast into her lap, seventy years ago; and alas! in vain. Yet it was not the fault of Pombal. His scheme very properly made a differ-



ence between the degree and kind of knowledge suited to municipal and rural populations ; and hence his distinction between schoolmasters for villages, and professors for towns. To meet the expenses, small taxes were imposed upon various articles of consumption, under the name of the literary subsidy. In his famous *Collegio dos Nobres*, which he founded for the separate education of the nobility, all the ordinances proceeded from his own pen. He banished the antiquated custom of conversing in Latin, the familiar use of a dead language tending, as he judiciously pointed out, *para os ensinar a barbarisar*, rather to barbarize than facilitate its genuine advancement. As to modern tongues, he directed that all lessons, so far as practicable, should be given *viva voce*, without overwhelming pupils with too great a multiplicity of rules. He had a great idea throughout his reformatory, that mother church might now and then make a warm nurse to her children ; but that she was sadly apt to overlay them !

With such a statesman, therefore, as may well be imagined, her quarrels proved endless. The Jesuits, by themselves, were always able to fan the coals of discord, scattered as they now were, and denounced in so many parts of Europe. Falsehoods, libels, satires, pasquinades, misrepresentations, formed a 'sharp sleet of arrowy showers,' which could do little else than demonstrate the spite and imbecility of the papacy. The attorney-general of Portugal, although of course a catholic, memorialized the crown in a long public document on the subject of Romish encroachments, deducing from historical records, that the infallibility of his holiness, 'was itself a fallacy, only tolerated when unexamined.' Father Ferreira also printed his remarkable thesis, that such infallibility had never been considered an article of faith ! A bull which Clement XIII. had fulminated, was met by Dom Joseph with a counter decree, declaring it null and void. Clergy as well as laity began to talk of separation ; nor did the archbishop of Evora hesitate about granting dispensations for marriages, without any concurrence from Rome. Ganganelli only succeeded to the tiara, just in time to prevent an open rupture. The Marquis, in an apology written several years later, whilst asserting his orthodoxy in the most decisive terms, nevertheless proceeds to add, 'the judgments and decisions of men can only be formed by the observation of our external actions and behaviour ; and it is not the province of men, *nor even of the church itself*, to decide on the secret sentiments of the human breast, which are reserved for the immediate cognizance of the all-knowing God.' The bishop of Coimbra had accused him of being English in his policy,—and English in his religion ; both which charges he rebutted : acknowledging, however, that he gloried in having

rendered auto-da-fés bloodless, in having successfully resisted sacerdotal superstition and domination, and in having placed the means of education within the reach of every man. But above all, he gloried in having drawn the teeth and blunted the fangs of the fanaticism of Loyola. Malagrida had been strangled by the executioner, and his body burnt to ashes, in pursuance of one of the few righteous sentences which the Inquisition had ever passed. Already, the courts of Vienna and Paris began to sympathize with that of Lisbon, and the Emperor Joseph, more particularly, is said to have bestowed special commendations upon Pombal with regard to his ecclesiastical measures.

Neither was the Portuguese minister in the least degree neglectful, during his long and distracted administration, of a sound foreign policy founded upon national and patriotic principles. He highly valued British alliance, without basely succumbing to it. As early as 1745, he had evinced a noble spirit on quitting England, when he refused to receive a donation of £300. sterling, which down to that time used as a matter of routine to be presented to all ambassadors. In 1759, Admiral Boscawen had captured some French vessels off the port of Lagos, within sight of shore; for which insult towards a neutral power, Pombal demanded and obtained ample reparation, in the shape of a distinct apology delivered in person, to Dom Joseph, by Lord Kinnoul, as envoy extraordinary for the purpose from George the Second. In establishing the Oporto Wine Company, he withstood a number of unjust encroachments, which our spirit of commercial monopoly attempted to make under the provisions of the Methuen and other treaties. France and Austria naturally enough applauded such a spirit; and that it might have a foundation to rest upon, the army was raised from eight or ten thousand poorly disciplined troops, to 36,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 5,000 artillery, besides the militia. Elvas and the other frontier cities were properly fortified and garrisoned. The navy had actually dwindled to two ships; when Pombal set to work more than three hundred English shipwrights in the dockyard and arsenal at Lisbon; so that within a few years, he launched ten ships of the line with a proportionate number of frigates. Algerine corsairs were scourged from along the entire coast. Portuguese merchantmen could put out to sea without a convoy. 'And that the colonies might be as well protected as the mother country, he dispatched a squadron with engineers, workmen and materials, to Mozambique and the Brazils to build ports in those regions.' It was fortunate that these forces by sea and land had been prepared; for Spain, under the celebrated Family Compact, was about to act out the fable of the wolf and the lamb, by imitating Philip of bloody memory, and extending her western

boundaries to the Atlantic. Pombal employed Count La Lippe as his generalissimo; nor could he have made a better selection. England recommended him, backing her advice with ten thousand auxiliaries. The invaders were discomfited in every quarter. The world looked on in astonishment at the unexpected revival of vigour put forth by a government considered as effete and ruined. Pombal was also in very bad health, and not a young man. Nothing, however, could surpass his attention to public business; the management of which, both as to the internal and external relations of the country, remained altogether under his supreme control. His master trusted him; and he deserved it.

Indeed, one of the secret papers seized in the Aveira conspiracy contained the curious admission, that to get rid of king Joseph, it was necessary to annihilate king Sebastian,—meaning Pombal. A most flagitious attempt was made to accomplish this, through the first infernal machine, we believe, upon record, at least in modern times. An Italian, named Pelle, contrived three tubes, like pistol barrels, charged collectively with several pounds of gunpowder; the whole of which, strongly set in a wooden frame, had a match attached to it, arranged to burn for fifteen hours. The grand equestrian statue of the king Dom Joseph, one of the conspicuous ornaments at Lisbon, was to be publicly exposed on the royal birthday, the 6th of June, 1775. The horrible engine was to be lighted overnight, and then fixed underneath the carriage of the minister; when during the protracted procession of many hours, it was calculated to a certainty, that he would be blown to atoms about the middle of the next day. A timely discovery prevented the intended assassination; which also must have involved many bystanders in destruction. In the various efforts aimed subsequently against the life of his master, for the affair of Aveira was by no means a single one, Pombal had to feel practically that a despotism has always death standing at its right hand. Nevertheless, there never seemed a shadow of cowardice about him. Missiles and daggers he considered the natural weapons of monks and monopolists. So that agriculture revived, which it did, in the Alemtejo; so that the native factories of gold, silver, wool, silks, steel, and mercery flourished; so that the fine arts thrived under his fostering care; so that belles lettres found patrons, pupils, and admirers; and, so that domestic trade and foreign commerce were increasingly developed,—he defied all his enemies, from the nobles to the Jesuits. The first he had irretrievably offended by many potent assaults upon their exclusiveness; and, more particularly by discountenancing a scheme formed by a few of the highest families, calling themselves puritans, to intermarry with none but those who were within their own gilded



circle. They had the folly, moreover, to scoff at the national prosperity, all evanescent as it proved, partly from their own inherent stolidity and profligacy. Yet while Pombal held the reins, that prosperity lasted. He had caused Brazilian diamonds to grow into an article of most lucrative traffic. Sugars, tobacco, raw and prepared hides, produced many millions of cruzados. The salt trade alone, between Setubal and Oporto, employed three hundred vessels; the Douro wines annually yielded 4,000,000 cruzados, equivalent to £400,000 sterling; cocoa, coffee, and spices, rice, dyeing woods, and the orchel weed, were augmenting year by year in commercial importance; and with regard to the export of fruits, an orchard in Cintra or Colares came 'to be reckoned a mine of gold!' He had so improved the police, that upon one grand occasion, when 150,000 persons during a festive season, of both sexes, were crowded together in the great square for several days and nights successively, the same quiet and order were preserved, as if they had been at 'their religious devotions.' He had in truth softened the manners of his countrymen in multifarious ways. A better style of dress, equipage, and general taste, had grown up under his auspices. 'It is not perhaps generally known even in Portugal, that Pombal was the first person who introduced the use of forks into that country. This simple instrument of daily convenience the minister brought with him from England, on his return from the court of St. James's in 1745.' He warmly patronized almost the only good school of painting his native land has ever originated, that of Vieira; whose magnificent full-length portrait of himself very appropriately represents the embarkation of the Jesuits at Belem, in the back ground, towards which the marquis is pointing with an evident smile of satisfaction. 'Children and fools,' he used to say, were the only objects of his apprehension. The latter were to be taken care of; the former educated. He abhorred all affectation and absurdity, and therefore one of his decrees modified the term and mode of domestic mourning, which widows were expected to endure, before his time. His law also of the 19th of September, 1761, should never be forgotten; since by it, 'all slaves arriving in Portugal and touching her soil, were declared to be, *ipso facto*, free men!' He restricted, moreover, the enormous growth of ecclesiastical opulence, through rash bequests and devises upon dying beds. He formed out of nine suppressed convents a new hospital; besides conferring on Mafra a splendid library. Even the Jews found a friend in him, so far as that he resolutely and successfully withstood a preposterous whim on the part of his sovereign, to impose upon them a peculiar hat as a badge of disgraceful distinction. His last projects, which he lived to see

at all realized, were the Royal Fishing Company of the Algarves, and the plantation of myriads of mulberry trees. Meanwhile, the linen, glass, velvet, bombazine, woollen, metal-button, and tapestry manufactories, all which he had commenced and assisted by large loans, were now able to stand alone: and would have done so, had not the demise of Dom Joseph, on the 24th of February, 1777, put an extinguisher on the ministry of the Marquis of Pombal.

His adversaries now opened in full cry, almost before the royal remains had been decently interred. All persons implicated in the Aveira conspiracy were let loose from their confinement. Superstition and fatuity ascended the throne in the persons of the young queen and her husband the Prince of Beira. Pombal withdrew to his private estates. He had refused to nominate to the vacancies in the expensive patriarchal establishment; but these with the new reign were all filled up, together with the transmission of £40,000 to Rome as a *douceur* for having received the disciples of Ignatius Loyola at Civita Vecchia! The discarded minister, however, maintained his integrity, and defied calumny. Though nearly an octogenarian, neither misfortune nor persecution, nor his increasing ill-health, diminished his firmness. His appearance, rather before this period, is described as dignified and noble. 'He was very tall and slender,' says Wraxall, 'with a face long, pale, meagre, but full of intelligence.' The sweetness of his intonation, with the charms and brilliancy of his conversation, are dwelt upon by all. Dom Joseph had ordered that a bronze medallion of his minister should be placed in the pedestal upon which the equestrian statue of himself was erected. This was meanly removed after his dismissal; whereupon its subject expressed his satisfaction, that a portrait so unlike the original should be secluded from public view. Dom Pedro had the gratitude to replace it, on the 12th of October, 1833. The only real mental sufferings which befel Pombal were those connected with the decline of Portugal, which he just survived long enough to witness. At the malice of his successors he could look on with the most unshaken serenity. An infamous decree, dated the 16th of August, 1781, pronounced him 'a criminal worthy of exemplary punishment.' The simplest statement of facts formed the only defence which he would ever vouchsafe in the way of reply. He ordered his son to furnish the queen with an account of his property, and the manner in which it had been acquired. During the twenty-seven years of his administration he had never received any salary, except an exceedingly moderate one as secretary of state, and about £100 per annum besides, as secretary to the house of Braganza. Gratuities of every sort he had invariably declined. The profits of

two commanderies had been conferred on him by his sovereign and his successor. His brothers had amassed fortunes, and, dying without having been married, their estates had augmented his own. In the palace at Oeyras is still to be seen a beautiful family piece, in which the marquis and these brothers are represented in one group, with the motto underneath,—*concordia fratrum*. All had been united throughout life, as though there had been but one soul amongst them. Hence came the ample revenues attached to the title of Pombal, which, moreover, is one of the very few hereditary ones in Portugal. His own careful management had, beyond all question, vastly increased their value; for common prudence had ever been an inestimable characteristic of his common sense. These features of mind were also combined with remarkable mildness of temper. One day a priest presented himself, brimful of insolence, which overflowed, until the minister had heard him out; when the latter merely replied, that such an affair was more properly in the department of his brother, to whom he would forthwith introduce him. But before opening the door of the next apartment, he added, ‘If he allows you to tell him one half of what you have just told me, I will grant your petition.’ The door remained ajar; whilst not many minutes elapsed before an angry altercation was heard, and the sacerdotal suitor was kicked out of the room! On another occasion, he sarcastically comforted a poor spy, who had incurred a sound thrashing from some premature discovery, with, ‘Alas! my friend, all these blows are but part of the wages of your profession!’ There often appeared no little humour and drollery in his communications. He met the infirmities of sickness and old age as he had before encountered all other trials and difficulties,—with calmness. He had invariably adopted an excellent custom for many years previous to his death, which was, to dedicate each returning anniversary of his birth-day to severe self-examination and humble prayer before his Maker. He breathed his last in the arms of his family and relations on the 5th of May, 1782, in his eighty-third year. His funeral obsequies were celebrated with the respect due to his rank; but a bishop, for having assisted at them, received an unmerited reprimand; and the clergyman who pronounced an oration on the event, was banished for his inconvenient eloquence to a convent in the Cape de Verde islands. His history is his best monument: nor have his countrymen slight grounds for being very proud of him. We can cheerfully recommend these volumes, which are quite in keeping with the well-known good taste and liberality of their publishers, as a handsome addition to the biographical libraries of our readers.



Art. III. *Handbuch der Historisch-critischen Einleitung in das Alte Testament. (Compendium of an Historico-critical Introduction to the Old Testament.)* Von H. A. Ch. Hävernicks, der Theologie Licentiaten und Privatdocenten an der Universität Rostock; Licentiate of Theology and Private Tutor in the University of Rostock.

For a long series of years Biblical criticism had pursued in Germany a sceptical course, even with regard to the canon of the Old Testament, in favour of whose traditional antiquity and authenticity the right of *prescription* might have been claimed when the canon of the New Testament began to be historically developed. Abandoned thus by all external evidence, criticism was compelled to confine its researches in the Old Testament to circumstantial and internal evidences, which, for want of sound critical science, led to negative results alone, while the more orthodox believers either refused to enter the field of investigation on subjects which they thought beyond the possibility of legitimate proof, or made such concessions to their opponents as to endanger the cause they undertook to defend, by a show of resistance which was, in fact, but a tacit acknowledgment of the hopelessness of the enterprise.

Of late, however, the orthodox theologians of Germany have taken a bolder stand, on more scientific ground. They have met their opponents with equal weapons, and in the various battles which have been fought, have succeeded in clearing away many prejudices. Though neither party can as yet claim a decisive victory, the attacking champions being too proud of their former laurels easily to acknowledge defeat, we have no doubt that the true cause will ultimately silence the specious arguments by which scepticism has sought to impair its force, or to obscure the clearness of its evidence. The present work is one of the modern productions of Biblical criticism in defence of the antiquity and authenticity of the Old Testament. It begins (chap. i. p. 17—90) with the investigation of the *history of the Canon*, and the following are the results arrived at. Before the exile, some few parts of holy writ had been collected and preserved in the sanctuary of the temple, but when, after that great catastrophe, the gradual cessation of prophetic teaching rendered a complete collection of paramount importance, preparations to that end were made partly by collecting and preserving the books of some select old prophets, and partly by new historical compositions on theocratic principles, by which the older literature of profane history (such as Records of the Empire, Books of the Pious, &c.) might be dispensed with. The time of Ezra, the author considers as the most suitable period for such a *definitive* collection, and the *men of the great synagogue*, as the most suitable persons

for such a task. During a period of thirteen years of comparative seclusion, Ezra busied himself in transcribing and compiling the books deemed fit for the canon, which he definitively promulgated at the end of that term. The objections to this view, founded on the adopted division of the Old Testament into *Law*, *Prophets*, and *Kethubim*, the author meets by the following explanation. That division, he contends, rests less on the different degrees of inspiration, or the different times when these books were composed, than on the different theocratic positions of the respective authors. Dr. Hävernicks makes thus a distinction between *prophets* and *seers* as two different classes of men; the so-called *prophetæ priores* (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings,) were composed by proper prophets, but not so the Hagiographa; David, Solomon, &c. were only *seers*, and so was Daniel, from his being in the service of a heathen prince. The *Lamentations*, though evidently written by a *prophet*, were nevertheless excluded in the division from the *prophets*, because they were best fitted to be adopted among the songs of the liturgy, and shared therefore the fate of the 90th Psalm, which, though composed by Moses, is not incorporated in the Pentateuch. Our author next enters on the *history of the fundamental languages of the Old Testament* (chap. ii. p. 91—258) on so large a scale, as to embrace detailed accounts of the Syriac and Arabic literature, and numerous observations on the origin and etymology of Hebrew words. The prosaic and poetical diction, as well as traces of dialectal diversities in the Hebrew language; in short, every thing connected with the history of the Hebrew tongue, is treated in a way most minute, elaborate, and erudite. Dr. Hävernicks rejects the expression *Semitic languages*, and substitutes for it *oriental*, since Canaanites (Chamites) also spoke the former, while, on the other hand, no relationship of races can be inferred from an affinity of languages.

The first period of Biblical literature, the Mosaic, comprises the Pentateuch (in which, however, are found documents of a far prior time,) followed by Joshua and the song of Deborah. To the second belong Job, Psalms, the two genuine writings of Solomon, Proverbs, and Canticles, Judges, Samuel, and Ruth. The elder prophets Dr. Hävernicks thus enumerates: Hosea, Jonah, Amos, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Obadiah. The period of the exile begins with Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Shortly after the exile were written, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Ecclesiastes. The conclusion forms: Haggai, Malachi, and Zachariah. With the exile the Hebrew ceases to be a vernacular, or living tongue.

The third chapter discusses at length the *history of the Text*; and many novel, erudite, and ingenious arguments are advanced

in favour of the existence of letters among the Hebrews in the ante-Mosaic period. The remainder is filled up with critical principles, arguments, and researches in the Text of the Old Testament, its antiquity and authenticity, where numerous points questioned by opponents are debated with great skill and learning. Among these stands foremost an essay, on the *Samaritan Text and the existence of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of Israel*. The critical reader is no doubt aware that the older apologists of the Pentateuch considered its existence among the Samaritans as one of the most incontrovertible proofs of its antiquity and genuineness, since the hostility between the Jews and the Samaritans it was supposed had lasted from the time of Rehoboam downwards, so that the Pentateuch must have been known to the Jews of North Palestine (afterwards the kingdom of Israel and Samaria) long before that period. Dr. Hävernick, however, does not agree to the inferences drawn from this fact. He argues with a great show of learning and genius, that the Samaritans, who had come in collision with the Jews of Jerusalem after the exile, were altogether of heathen origin, and that no relationship whatever existed between them and the citizens of the former kingdom of Israel. But this view of our author is closely connected with another assertion, namely, that the kingdom of Israel had been so completely swept of its inhabitants by Salmannassar, that not a single soul had remained behind to propagate the race, an assertion, contrary not only to common sense, but to the ancient spirit of deportation. (Comp. ex. gr. 2 King 24, 14, 19; 25, 11, 22, 29; Jer. 52, &c.) Dr. Hävernick maintains, that the existence of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of Israel must not be proved by inductive reasons and inferences, but by real facts, and to that end, turns his attention to the two prophets of Israel, *Hosea* and *Amos*, whose writings he scrutinises almost line by line, showing from their thoughts, expressions, and idioms, that they must have been familiar with the Mosaic laws, and the text of the Pentateuch in general. In like manner he proceeds with the Books of Kings, as far as the kingdom of Israel is concerned.

The next point at issue turns (pp. 181—414) on the *names of God in the Pentateuch*, by which the question about the *unity of the book* is naturally touched upon. After treating historically the various essays on the subject, of which the first and best is that of Tertullian, our author turns to the subject itself, and treats the two names, *Jehovah* and *Elohim*, in a triple way—etymological, historical, and theological. Both names have ever stood side by side of each other—they are coeval—neither is later than the other, but their respective etymologies lend them



a different theological character, and to that alone is owing the different use made of them by one and the same author. Elohim is the abstract term of *Deity* in its absoluteness; the idea of unity, personality, and holiness, falls here into the back ground, in the same way as our term *Deity* conveys, in a philosophical sense, rather the notion of ruler of the universe than that of an object of devotion and worship. On the other hand, Jehovah is the revealed Elohim, the personal, holy, and merciful. The former is the *Creator*, the latter the *Redeemer*; in other words, (though not expressed by our author,) Elohim is God the father, and Jehovah, God the son.

The third point at issue (p. 415—502) treats of the genuineness of the Pentateuch in relation to the history of letters, or art of writing. After shewing by ample proofs and reasons the high antiquity of letters, probable inferences are drawn, that they were familiar to the Hebrews, as to a nation sufficiently civilized in the times of the Patriarchs, and in the land of Egypt, while the existence and use of letters among the Jews in the Mosaic period Dr. Hävernicks demonstrates beyond doubt from many passages in the Pentateuch.

There are, however, various reasonings and arguments in the work to which we cannot, in the spirit of impartial criticism, grant our unrestricted approbation; and, more especially, as the work challenges free discussion on the subject, disclaiming all help from dogmatic arguments and orthodox principles, and is obviously intended to convince by fact and reason every mind which is open to argumentative truth.

In the three passages (Exod. and Numb.) says our author, where mention is made, that Moses had written down something or other, in a *book*, we have only to read the text with the Masoretic punctuation פפפ, with the definitive article (in *the* book), to be convinced of the existence of a commenced written work by Moses, viz., the Pentateuch. Now, the Pentateuch being thus considered as a sort of journal or diary in which Moses noted down the occurrences of the day, our author ought to have explained how it happened. 1. That many things had been *commanded* by Jehovah to be written down, while other comparatively more important events, had been omitted. 2. That there is a blank of thirty-eight years, out of forty, in that journal. 3. That an author should find it necessary at the conclusion of a historical narration to add, 'and he (the author) wrote it down;' a fact which ought to be visible to the reader without that remark. Neither has Dr. Hävernicks refuted the hypothesis of the most recent opponents:—that the Pentateuch in its present shape, is the historical work of a later author, whose sources and authorities were fragmentary original documents by

the hand of Moses, to which the later author gave the name of, 'Book of Law,' 'Covenant Book of God.' This hypothesis is so specious, that it apparently smoothes away the above difficulties, and is, moreover, in some degree supported by Jos. 24, 26, a passage which even the opponents seem to have overlooked, and which as it refers to an event not found in the present Pentateuch, might easily give edge and point to the supposition, that it refers to documents altogether different from the Pentateuch.

Nor can we critically agree with the rather loose mode of *legal* proceeding by Dr. Hävernicks with regard to the credibility of traditions. *Quotations* in sentences and words, are altogether different—in a legal point of view—from mere allusions to ancient facts and events. Thus, if we read in a later prophet or historical sacred writer, allusions to ante-mosaic events, such as the deluge, some features in the private and public life of the patriarchs, or the catastrophe of Sodom, etc., it is not yet legally proved, that the recital of such events had been derived by those later writers from the Pentateuch alone, since either the same documents or oral traditions, or even divine inspiration, from which Moses had derived his information respecting those events, might equally have served as the source and authority for the later writers. Even the events of the Mosaic period, might also have lived in the memory of the people by way of traditions, without the help of the Pentateuch, in like manner as the events of the life of Christ and his apostles, have long lived in the memory of christian people by mere oral tradition, since the catholics do not even now read the scriptures; nor is it likely, that the ancient Jews had copies of the sacred writings in their houses.

Another argument of our author, from 2 Kings 22, &c. where, Hilckiah said, 'I have found *the* book of the law,' meaning the well-known one, the Pentateuch, is not supported by v. 10 where merely *a* book is mentioned. Neither do we find great force in the argument, why,—if the book was not known—the young king does not inquire after the authenticity of that strange book? Simply, perhaps, because he was, to his happiness, no professor of biblical literature, had not yet read any work on criticism, and gave implicit reliance to the words of his teacher, the high priest. That the king and the people, v. 13, are astonished more at the contents, than at the book itself, *ergo*, its existence must have been previously known, is rather strange logic, since it is incomprehensible how a whole nation with the priesthood at their head, should know that it was *the* book, but at the same time be so little acquainted with it, that its contents caused perplexity and astonishment!!

We would also direct Dr. Hävernicks's attention to the following facts, that from that last period alone, true traces of the

existence of a written book of law are met with in the other books of the canon. Jeremiah is full of quotations from *Deuteronomy*, as also the other prophets of the exile, to go no farther. All the quotations in Joshua are from *Deuteronomy*, or from that part of Numbers where the scenes are laid in the fields of Moab. Also the genuine part of Nehemiah goes in its quotations not farther than *Deuteronomy*, and only from the eighth chapter onwards, they pass that limit. In Ezra and Chronicles are citations from all the parts of the Pentateuch. By pursuing this analytical method, some modern critics have built up a system explaining the gradual rise, composition and compilation of the canon of the Old Testament. We confess, that we were rather disappointed to miss in the work before us a discussion on a point so important to the impartial critic.

With regard to the *unity* of the Pentateuch, Dr. Härvernack we think, has succeeded beyond doubt in establishing the fact. Respecting the explanation given to the two biblical names of God, it cannot, we fear, be borne out thoroughly. Gen. i, ex. gr. Elohim creates man, while Gen. ii., it is Jehovah. Gen. iv. 1, Jehovah gives Cain, and iv. 25, Elohim gives Seth. Gen. vi. 12, Elohim commands to build the ark, and vii. 1, Jehovah commands to enter therein. Exod. iii. 4, when Jehovah saw that Moses approached, Elohim called to him from the bush, &c.

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Art. IV. *Astronomy and Scripture, or Some Illustrations of that science and of the Solar, Lunar, Stellar, and Terrestrial Phenomena of Holy Writ.* By the Rev. T. Milner, M A. 12mo. Pp. 398. London: Snow. 1843.

We have always been disposed to consider astronomy as the sublimest of the sciences, and as worthy of the study and investigation of every rational and christian inquirer. The objects and movements about which it is conversant are so grand and marvellous—surpassing every thing that could have been imagined in the infancy of the science—that they tend to enlarge, to an indefinite extent, the conceptions of the human intellect, and to arouse the attention and excite the admiration even of the most incurious and uncultivated minds. When we consider the vast magnitude of the bodies which this science illustrates—their immense number—the velocity of their motions—the astonishing forces requisite to impel them in their rapid career through the regions of the sky—the vast spaces which surround them, and in which they perform their revolutions—the magnificent circles or ellipses they describe—the attractive influence they exert



upon each other at the distance of hundreds of millions of miles—and the important ends they are destined to accomplish in the grand system of the universe—we are presented with a scene on which the most enlarged faculties of the human mind might expatiate during an indefinite series of ages. In particular, such objects are calculated, in an eminent degree, to enlarge our conceptions of the attributes and operations of the Divinity, and to extend our views of the magnificence of that empire over which he eternally presides, and of the unlimited range of his universal providence. In this point of view we have often felt regret that, in the writings of our most eminent modern astronomers, with a very few exceptions, the reference of these works to their Almighty Author, and the display they exhibit of his character and perfections, are almost, if not entirely, overlooked; as if the universe, with all its august movements, were merely a self-moving and independent machine, without an original contriver and a supreme superintendent. It is perhaps owing, in part, to this circumstance, that many religious persons have neglected to study the facts and principles of astronomical science, and to consider the relation they bear to the great object of their adoration, and the light they reflect on his character and his universal government. In reference to that department of creation which astronomy explores, it may be said, with peculiar emphasis, in the language of inspiration, '*The works of Jehovah are GREAT, and are sought out of all those who have pleasure therein.*' In numerous places throughout the volume of inspiration our attention is directed to the contemplation of the heavens. 'Lift up thine eyes on high and behold! Who hath created these things? Who bringeth forth their hosts by number, and calleth them all by their names? The everlasting God, the Lord, by the greatness of his power, who hath stretched out the heavens by his understanding.' 'The heavens declare the glory of the Lord, and the firmament sheweth his handy-work.' It is therefore the duty of every Christian, and of every rational inquirer, to study some of the demonstrated facts which have been ascertained respecting the bodies composing the planetary system and the sidereal heavens, and the views they unfold of the Creator ought to be incorporated in the system of Christian theology.

With the view of directing the attention of our readers to this subject, we take the present opportunity of exhibiting a very brief sketch of the more popular principles and facts of astronomical science.

The objects which this science describes must have excited the attention of mankind in every age. The starry heavens present, even to the most careless and untutored observer, a

sublime and elevating spectacle. He beholds an immense concave hemisphere of unknown dimensions, surrounding the earth in every region, and resting as it were upon the circle of the horizon. From every quarter of this mighty arch numerous lights are displayed moving onward in solemn silence, varying their aspects at different seasons, and calculated to inspire admiration and awe. Even the rudest savages have been struck with admiration at the view of the nocturnal heavens, and have regarded the celestial luminaries either as the residences of their gods, or the arbiters of their future destinies. But it does not appear that the real nature of these bodies, or the true system of the universe was known in ancient times, even by the most celebrated philosophers. The system explained by Ptolemy, an Egyptian astronomer, was that generally recognised by the learned from the commencement of the Christian era to the 15th century. According to it the earth was conceived to be a quiescent body in the centre of the universe, and the planets to revolve around it in so many different heavens, which were supposed to be nearly concentric, and raised one above another in a certain order. In the first, or lowest sphere, was the *Moon*, then *Mercury*, and next in order *Venus*, the *Sun*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, and then the sphere of the fixed stars. These heavens were conceived to be *solid*, otherwise the upper ones could have had no influence on the lower to make them perform their daily motion, and they behoved to be of the *finest crystal*, because the light of the stars could not otherwise have penetrated the thickness of those arches applied one over another, nor have reached our eyes. Above the sphere of the fixed stars were placed the first and second crystalline heavens, and above these the *primum mobile*, or first mover, which carried round all the subordinate spheres. Some astronomers were contented with seven or eight different spheres, while others imagined no less than seventy of them wrapped one within another, and all in separate motions. When some new motion or effect, formerly unknown, was discovered, they introduced a new sphere, giving it such motions and directions as were deemed requisite: cycles, epicycles, deferents, centric and eccentric circles, solid spheres, and other celestial machinery, were all employed to solve the apparently intricate motions of the heavens, which seemed to baffle the efforts of the human intellect. Much ingenuity was displayed in order to get the celestial spheres to move onward in harmony; but after all their complicated contrivances, they could never account for the motions and other phenomena of *Mercury* and *Venus*, and the different apparent magnitudes which the planets presented in different parts of their orbits. Without admitting the motion of the earth—which they univer-

sally discarded—it would surpass the wisdom of an archangel, on any rational principle, to solve the phenomena of the heavens, in consistency with the wisdom and intelligence of the Creator. And hence we may infer, that erroneous conceptions of the plan and operations of the universe have a tendency to convey false and distorted views of the perfections of HIM who ‘established the world by his wisdom, and stretched out the heavens by his understanding.’ The system to which we have alluded is that to which almost all our theological writers of the 16th and 17th centuries refer, when alluding to the heavenly bodies and the general frame of the world; and in consequence of admitting so untenable a hypothesis, their reflections in reference to the objects of the visible creation, and many of their comments on Scripture are frequently puerile and injudicious, and even worse than useless.

This system remained in vogue even among those who called themselves philosophers, till the time of Copernicus, who flourished about the end of the 15th and the early part of the 16th century. With a bold independent spirit, and a daring hand, this illustrious astronomer dashed the crystalline spheres of the ancient system to pieces, swept away its cycles, epicycles, and deferents, stopped the rapid whirl of the *primum mobile*, fixed the sun in the centre of the planetary orbs, removed the earth from its quiescent state, and set it in motion through the ethereal void, along with the other planets, and thus introduced simplicity and harmony into the theory of the universe. This system, notwithstanding the powerful opposition it encountered from the vulgar, the clergy, and the philosophers of that age—soon made its way among the learned throughout Europe. In the progress of the 17th century, it was powerfully supported by the observations and reasonings of Galileo, Kepler, Cassini, Hooke, Halley, and the illustrious Newton; and since that period, by all the most celebrated mathematicians and astronomers in Europe and America. In consequence of the invention of the telescope about the year 1609, various discoveries were made by Galileo, Huygens, Cassini, and others, particularly in reference to the bodies which compose the planetary system—all which tended to confirm and illustrate that system of the world which had been promulgated by Copernicus. During the 18th century telescopes, both reflecting and refracting, received numerous improvements, particularly by the late celebrated Sir W. Herschel, who, for nearly half a century, and with unwearied assiduity, continued to observe the heavens with more powerful instruments than had previously been constructed, and who extended our knowledge of the planetary and sidereal systems far beyond their former limits. His discoveries along with



those of Piazzi, Olbers, and Harding, have added five primary and eight secondary planets to the solar system, and enlarged its boundaries to double the extent which was formerly supposed. The science of astronomy is still in progress, and is now cultivated by numerous sons of genius in different regions of the globe. What attainments it has yet to make it is impossible to anticipate. But, since its objects are boundless, its cultivators continually increasing, and its instruments of observation gradually improving, we have reason to expect that future generations will bring to light scenes and objects in the distant regions of space, far surpassing in sublimity and grandeur those which have hitherto been discovered.

In attempting to exhibit the prominent objects of this science to young minds, it has been the usual practice, in most of our elementary books, to commence with a few definitions of technical terms, followed by a general description of the order of the solar system. We are decidedly of opinion that this is neither the natural nor the most eligible mode of conveying clear and impressive conceptions of the facts and principles of the science. No one can enter with intelligence on the study of astronomy, or duly appreciate its elementary principles, unless he has been first directed to contemplate with his own eyes the *apparent* and more obvious phenomena of the heavenly bodies, as they present themselves to the view of any common and attentive observer—such as the different points of the horizon at which the sun and moon seem to rise and set at the different periods of their course round the heavens—the general appearance of the starry heavens in their apparent diurnal revolutions round our globe—the small segments of circles they describe above the horizon, in our latitude, in the southern part of the heavens—and the complete circles through which they appear to move in the vicinity of the pole, together with the direct and retrograde motions of the planets, and the appearances they exhibit when viewed through telescopes. These and various other phenomena require to be carefully observed, *at different seasons of the year*, before the young astronomer can acquire a clear idea of the annual and diurnal motions of the earth, the change of the seasons, and the general arrangements of the solar system; and by making such observations with his own eyes, a deeper and more lively impression of the subject will be made upon his mind. For example: In a clear evening, in the month of January, at 6 p. m., let him observe some of the brighter stars which appear about the eastern horizon—at 9 o'clock they will appear to have risen to a considerable elevation above the horizon—at 12, midnight, they will appear at a much higher elevation, and nearly due south, and about 5 or 6 o'clock next morning, they will be seen

about to disappear in the west. The stars which are seen to rise in the south-east portion of the sky will ascend to a less elevated point of the meridian, will continue a shorter time above the horizon, and set in the south-west. If he turn his eyes towards the north, he will perceive that the stars within a certain distance of the pole appear to describe complete circles, of different dimensions, around that point, and to move with an apparently slower motion than those stars which rose in the east. He will see the Great Bear, or *Ursa Major*, sometimes in a low position, not far from the northern horizon, sometimes considerably more elevated, and to the east or west of the pole star, and sometimes, as about the end of April, at 10 p. m., he will see this constellation near the zenith, or almost directly above his head. From these and similar observations, when compared together, he will be necessarily led to the conclusion that the globe on which we dwell is suspended in empty space—is surrounded on all sides by the celestial vault—and that the *whole sphere of the heavens*, with all the stars it contains, has an *apparent motion round the earth* every twenty-four hours. Whether this motion be *real* or only apparent cannot be determined by the senses, but must be decided by certain rational and astronomical considerations.

Again: by similar observations, the apparent *annual* motion of the sun may be traced by any common observer. For this purpose the *Pleiades*, or seven stars, along with the ruddy star, *Aldebaran*, which follows them, may be selected as fixed points in the heavens, to indicate the progressive motion of the solar orb towards the east. About the middle of January, at 8 o'clock in the evening, the *Pleiades* will be seen on the meridian—which should be noted down for the purpose of being compared with future observations. On the 1st of March, *at the same hour*, those stars will be seen nearly half way between the meridian and the western horizon, while all the other stars of nearly the same declination will be found to have made a similar progress. About the 15th of April they will be seen, at the same hour, very near the north-western horizon, and every day after this, they will appear to make a nearer approach to that part of the heavens in which the sun is situated, till, being overpowered by the splendour of his rays, they cease to be visible. From these and similar observations, which may be made by means of other stars, it will be obvious to the attentive observer that the sun has an *apparent* motion, through the circle of the heavens, from *west* to *east*—contrary to his apparent diurnal motion—and that this revolution is completed in the course of a year. Whether this motion be real or only apparent, must be determined by a comparison of various other celestial phenomena,

and by its consistency with the motions of the other bodies which compose the solar system. But the fact itself, that the sun *appears* to have such a motion should be traced by every student of this science.

Again : the apparent motions of the *planets* should be carefully observed by every one who wishes to acquire a clear and accurate conception of the arrangements of the solar system. These bodies appear sometimes in the evening after sunset, and at other times in the morning before sunrise ; some of them are always seen in the neighbourhood of the sun, either to the west of him in the morning, or to the east of him in the evening, and never appear in the quarter of the heavens which is opposite to that luminary, while the other planets may be seen in *opposition*, and in every other aspect with respect to the sun. When their motions are particularly attended to, they are found to direct their course sometimes towards the east, sometimes towards the west, and at other times no sensible motion can be perceived. When the planet Venus, for example, has passed its superior conjunction with the sun, and becomes an evening star, its motion for about seven months, is towards the east, till it arrive at the point of its greatest elongation from the sun, when it appears for some time *stationary* ; after which, it appears to commence a retrograde motion from east to west, but with a much greater degree of apparent velocity than before, till it approach the point of its *inferior* conjunction with the sun. After passing this point, it becomes a morning star, still pursuing a westerly course, till it arrive at the point of its greatest elongation west of the sun, when it is again stationary ; after which, it commences an easterly course, till it arrive at its superior conjunction. Similar motions, direct and retrograde, though accomplished in different periods and in different circumstances, are observed in relation to all the other planets, particularly in the case of the planet Mars, whose direct and retrograde movements, in certain parts of its orbit, are particularly striking. Were all these apparent motions of the planets, during a few years, accurately delineated on paper, they would exhibit a series of loops or spirals running into each other, so complicated and irregular, as to present, at first view, a scene of inextricable confusion. But if the Copernican hypothesis be the true system of the world, all such apparent irregularities of motion in the planets, must be completely accounted for, and shown to be consistent with regular motions in circular or elliptical orbits, when the earth is considered in motion round the sun between the orbits of Venus and Mars.

Such observations may be made, without much effort, by any one who is desirous of entering on the study of this subject,



even although he may be unacquainted with the general principles of astronomy. It is partly owing to such observations never having been attended to, that many persons of cultivated minds, who have occasionally dipped into this subject, and perused elementary treatises, have never acquired a clear and comprehensive conception of the phenomena and arrangements of the planetary system, and are led to rely more on the assertions and deductions of eminent astronomers than on their own convictions respecting the leading truths of this science.

We shall now present to our readers a very brief sketch of the leading facts which have been ascertained respecting the bodies which are comprehended within the range of the solar system. According to the views universally entertained, the *SUN* occupies the central part of this system. Around this luminary, at different distances, the following planets revolve in the order here stated—*Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars—Vesta, Juno, Ceres, Pallas—Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus*. Of all the objects in the visible creation with which we are acquainted, there is none whose magnitude is so overpowering to the imagination as that of the *Sun*. Its diameter is 880,000, and its circumference 2,764,600 miles: its surface contains 2,432,800,000,000 of square miles, and its solid contents comprehend 356,818,739,200,000,000, or more than three hundred and fifty-six thousand *billions* of cubical miles. It would contain within its vast circumference more than thirteen hundred thousand globes as large as the earth, and a thousand globes of the size of Jupiter, which is 1,400 times the size of the globe on which we dwell. It is more than 500 times larger than all the planets, satellites, rings, and comets connected with our system; and we can acquire only a rude and imperfect idea of its grandeur by comparing it with other objects. It is stated that the splendid view from the top of Etna comprehends a circle 240 miles in diameter, and containing 45,240 square miles. Now, this is only the  $\frac{537}{76608}$ th part of the surface of the sun; so that more than fifty-three millions seven hundred and seventy-six thousand landscapes, such as beheld from the summit of Etna, must pass before us, ere we could contemplate a surface as expansive as that of the sun. And if every such landscape were to occupy two hours in the contemplation, and were twelve hours every day allotted for the survey, it would require *twenty-four thousand five hundred and fifty years* before the whole surface of this immense globe could be in this rapid manner surveyed. Of a globe so vast in its dimensions, the human mind, with all its efforts, can form no adequate conception. We may express its dimensions in figures or in words, with mathematical exactness, but in the present state of our limited powers we can form no mental image or representation

of an object so stupendous and sublime. The imagination is overpowered and bewildered in its boldest efforts, and drops its wing before it has realized the ten thousandth part of the idea it attempted to grasp. The powers of the human intellect must not only be invigorated and expanded, but also the limits of our mental and corporeal vision must be indefinitely extended before we can grasp the objects of overwhelming grandeur which exist within the range of creation—and the globe under consideration is only *one* out of countless millions of similar globes dispersed throughout infinite space, some of which may far excel it in magnitude and glory. Of the *physical construction* of this luminary we have as yet acquired but a very imperfect conception. It has been concluded, on pretty plausible grounds, that the nucleus, or internal body of the sun is a dark and solid substance, surrounded by a luminous atmosphere of several hundreds of miles in thickness. This has been deduced from the phenomena of the dark spots which are frequently seen to traverse its disk. These spots are of all sizes, from 500 to 40,000 miles in diameter, and, on some occasions, more than a hundred of them have been seen on its hemisphere at one time. They are evidently excavations, or *depressions* on the sun's disk, and each of them has its dark nucleus, or central part, surrounded with a penumbra, or faint shade, nearly of the shape of the dark central spot. They are subject to a great variety of changes—the same spot, or cluster of spots, seldom remaining longer than five or six weeks, and in some cases they have disappeared in a few days. Whatever be the nature of these spots, it appears pretty evident that extensive and amazing operations and processes are going forward in connexion with the surface or luminous atmosphere of this immense body; for spots larger than the earth have been seen to burst asunder in the course of a single hour, and others to have been formed in the course of a single day. It is only a few months ago since we beheld two spots, each of them as large as the earth, containing an area of 380 millions of square miles, which were formed near the centre of the solar disk, where no trace of them was found forty hours before. Physical powers and agents, beyond our comprehension, must have been in operation to produce such stupendous effects. By the motion of these spots, from the eastern to the western margin of the sun, it is ascertained that this luminary revolves round its axis in the space of twenty-five days and ten hours. It has lately been found that the solar light consists of *three* different orders of rays, one producing *colour*, a second producing *heat*, and a third *chemical* effects; and that the *violet rays* of the solar spectrum, when condensed with a convex glass, have the power of communicating to a piece of steel the *magnetic* virtue.

We shall now offer a few sketches in relation to the primary planets of our system. The one nearest the sun, that has yet been discovered, is MERCURY, although a space of no less than 37,000,000 of miles intervenes between his orbit and the sun. Within this immense space several planets may revolve, although they have never been detected by us on account of their proximity to the sun. This planet ranks among the smallest of the system. Its diameter has been estimated at 3,200 miles, and its surface contains above 32,000,000 of square miles, which is not much less than the quantity of surface on all the *habitable* portions of our globe. On account of its vicinity to the sun—being seldom beyond the twenty-sixth degree of that luminary—it is seldom seen by the naked eye, and few discoveries have been made by the telescope on its surface. Schroeter, a German astronomer, however, seems to have detected certain phenomena on the surface of this planet, from which he concludes that mountains of considerable elevation exist on its surface, one of which he calculated to be  $1\frac{1}{3}$ th English mile, and another above 10 miles in perpendicular height. This planet finishes its revolution round the sun in about 88 days, moving at the rate of 109,000 miles every hour, which is the greatest rate of velocity of any bodies connected with the system, some of the comets excepted. It enjoys an intensity of solar light, about seven times greater than what falls upon the earth, and 2,400 times greater than that enjoyed on the surface of Uranus, the most distant planet of the system. It is sometimes seen to pass, like a round black spot, across the disk of the sun, which is called the *transit* of Mercury. Its next transit will happen on the 8th of May, 1845.

The next planet in order is VENUS—generally known by the name of the morning and evening star, and, next to the sun and moon, is the most brilliant orb in the heavens. It is 7,800 miles in diameter, or nearly the size of the earth, and it moves round the sun at the distance of 68,000,000 of miles in an orbit 433,800,000 miles in circumference, at the rate of 80,000 miles every hour, or 22 miles every second. When nearest the earth, it is distant from us about 27,000,000 of miles, which is the nearest approach that any of the heavenly bodies, excepting the moon, make to our globe. When farthest distant from us, it is 163,000,000 of miles from the earth. Were the whole of its enlightened surface turned towards the earth, when it is nearest, it would exhibit a light and brilliancy twenty-five times greater than it generally does, and appear like a small brilliant moon; but at that time its dark hemisphere is turned towards our globe, and it is nearly in the direction of the sun. The quantity of light which falls on this planet is nearly twice as great as that



on the earth, which will, doubtless, have the effect of causing all the colours reflected from the scenery on its surface, to present a more vivid, rich, and magnificent appearance than with us. On account of the extreme brilliancy of this orb, much variety has not been perceived on its surface; but from certain spots and other phenomena it has been determined that it performs a revolution round its axis in twenty-three hours and twenty minutes. From the observations of M. Schroeter, it appears that mountains of very considerable elevation exist on its surface, and that it is encompassed with an atmosphere, the densest part of which is reckoned above three miles high. About twice in the course of 120 years Venus appears to pass, like a dark spot, across the disk of the sun—a phenomenon which is of great importance in practical astronomy: since, upon the observations that were made on the last transit, in 1769, the distance of the sun from the earth was determined with more accuracy than it had been before. The next transit will happen in December, 1874. Both this planet and Mercury, in the course of their revolution round the sun, pass successively through all the phases of the moon, as viewed by telescopes, sometimes assuming a gibbous phase, and at other times the form of a half moon, or that of a crescent. Both these bodies are distinguished by the name of *inferior planets*, because they move in orbits which lie *within* the earth's orbit, and are less distant than the earth from the sun.

The *superior planets*, or those whose orbits lie beyond that of the earth, are Mars, the New Planets, Jupiter, Saturn and Uranus. The planet MARS is a globe considerably smaller than the earth; its diameter being estimated at 4200 miles, and its superficial contents at about 55 millions of square miles. It is distinguished from all the other planets by its ruddy appearance, which is owing to an atmosphere so deep and dense, that when it approaches any fixed star, the star changes colour, grows dim, and sometimes disappears, although it be at a small distance from the body of the planet. It moves round the sun, at the distance of one hundred and forty-five millions of miles, in one year and ten months, in an orbit nine hundred millions of miles in circumference, at the rate of fifty-five thousand miles an hour. Its surface is diversified by a variety of spots, by the motion of which it has been found, that it turns round its axis in about twenty-four hours and a half. A spot of peculiar brilliancy near its southern pole has long been observed by astronomers, about which there have been different opinions, some of them supposing that it is an accumulation of snow or ice. When this planet is nearest the earth, its distance is about fifty millions of miles, and when at its greatest distance, it is no less than two hundred and forty millions of miles; and hence, in the former case it

appears nearly twenty-five times larger than in the latter. From the observations that have been made on this planet, the following conclusions have been deduced. 1. That it is environed with a very dense atmosphere, in which clouds probably exist. 2. That land and water, analogous to those on our globe, are found on its surface. The dark spots are obviously the water or seas, which reflect a much less proportion of the solar light than the land. The dark spots, if water, must form about one-third or one-fourth of the surface of Mars. 3. That a variety of seasons somewhat similar to ours, must be experienced in this planet, as its axis is inclined to its ecliptic, in an angle of nearly thirty degrees :—and 4. That it bears a more striking resemblance to the earth than any other planet.

Next to the orbit of Mars, are the orbits of the lately discovered planets, VESTA, JUNO, CERES, and PALLAS. They are all invisible to the unassisted eye, and are the smallest planets in the system. Of these four bodies, the first discovered was that which is now named *Ceres*, which was detected by Piazzi, at Palermo, on the first day of the present century. *Pallas* was discovered by Dr. Olbers, of Bremen, on the 28th March, 1802 ; *Juno*, by Dr. Harding at the observatory of Lilienthal, on the 1st September, 1804 ; and *Vesta*, by Dr. Olbers on the 29th March, 1807. The dimensions of these bodies are not yet very accurately ascertained. Their magnitudes as given by some of the German astronomers, are as follows :—*Vesta*, 270—*Juno*, 1400—*Ceres*, 1600—*Pallas*, 2000 miles in diameter. They present to our view various singularities and anomalies, which at first sight appear incompatible with the proportion and harmony which we might suppose to have originally characterized the arrangements of the solar system. 1. *Their orbits have a much greater degree of inclination to the ecliptic*, than those of the old planets, that of *Pallas* being no less than thirty-four and a-half degrees, which is twenty-seven times greater than that of *Jupiter*. 2. Their orbits are in general *more eccentric* than those of the other planets, that is, they move in longer and narrower ellipses. The eccentricities of the orbits of *Juno* and *Pallas*, amount nearly to *one-eighth* part of the transverse axes of their orbits ; whereas the eccentricities of the orbits of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* are only the *one-forty-third* part, and that of the earth, one hundred and nineteenth ; hence *Pallas* and *Juno* will sometimes be one hundred and twenty-nine millions of miles farther from the sun at one period than at another. 3. *The orbits of some of these planets cross each other*. This is a very singular and unaccountable circumstance in regard to planetary orbits, and cannot possibly happen in the case of the other planets, or of any of their satellites. The orbit of *Vesta* crosses the orbits of the other three, and, therefore, it is a *possible* circumstance

that a collision might take place between Vesta and these three planets. 4. *They revolve nearly at the same mean distance from the sun.* The mean distance of Juno is 254,000,000, of Ceres 262,903,000, of Pallas 262,901,000 of miles. 5. *They perform their revolutions in nearly the same periods.* The period of Juno is 4 years,  $4\frac{1}{3}$  months ; of Ceres 4 years,  $7\frac{1}{3}$  months ; and of Pallas 4 years,  $7\frac{1}{3}$  months. Such anomalies and peculiarities—so very different from the arrangements of the older planets—have opened a wide field for reflection and speculation. It has been supposed, on somewhat plausible grounds, that these planets are only the fragments of a larger planet, which had been burst asunder by some immense eruptive force, proceeding from its interior parts. This hypothesis accounts in a great measure for the anomalies and apparent irregularities to which we have alluded, particularly for the intersection of their orbits ; and for the fact, that these planets are not *round*, as is indicated by the instantaneous diminution of their light when they present their angular faces. It has also been supposed, that the smaller fragments that may have escaped at the time of the disruption, may account for some of the meteoric stones which at different times have fallen from the higher regions on our globe. But our limits will not permit us at present to enter into such discussions. Whether we consider the present peculiarities, positions, and motions of these planets, as accordant with the state in which they were originally created, or whether we view them as the effects of some tremendous shock or disruption, there appears to be something sublimely mysterious and worthy of attention in the physical—not to say *moral*—arrangements of the Almighty, in the state in which these bodies are now found. If they were originally arranged in the position and order in which they now appear, they present an anomaly, a want of proportion and harmony, to whatever appears elsewhere throughout the whole range of the system. And, if their present phenomena are the effects of some dreadful concussion, the fate of the beings who inhabited the original planet must have been involved in the awful catastrophe. An event somewhat analogous happened to our own globe, at that period, when ‘the cataracts of heaven were opened, and the fountains of the great deep were broken up,’ when a flood of waters ensued which covered the tops of the loftiest mountains, transformed the earth into a boundless ocean, and buried the myriads of its population in a watery grave.

Next to the orbits of the new planets is the orbit of JUPITER, which is 495 millions of miles from the central luminary, and measures 3,110,000,000 miles in circumference. Around this expansive circuit it moves in 11 years 315 days, at the rate of thirty thousand miles an hour. When nearest to the earth, this



planet appears the most splendid of all the nocturnal orbs, except Venus and the moon. It is the largest of all the planets, being 89,000 miles in diameter, and comprising a surface of twenty-four thousand eight hundred millions of square miles; and is, consequently, about fourteen hundred times larger than our globe. It has been found to revolve round its axis in nine hours, fifty-six minutes, which was discovered by means of the gradual motion of a small spot in one of its belts, in consequence of which its equatorial parts move with a velocity of 28,000 miles an hour. When viewed with a powerful telescope, this planet makes a splendid and interesting appearance, and its disk appears much larger than the full moon to the naked eye. Its surface appears diversified with darkish stripes, which are known by the name of the *belts* of Jupiter. These belts run across the disk of the planet, and are generally parallel to one another, and to the planet's equator. They are somewhat variable, both as to their number and their distance from each other. On certain occasions, *eight* have been perceived; and at other times, only one or two. Their most common appearance is that of two belts, distinctly marked, one on each side of the planet's equator—and one at each pole, generally broader, but much fainter than the others. Some of these belts are more than 6000 miles broad, and as they go quite round the planet, they must be 278,000 miles in circumference. What these belts really are, it is difficult to determine. By some they have been regarded as immense strata of clouds in the atmosphere of Jupiter; and by others, that they are the marks of great physical changes, which are continually agitating the surface of the planet. The probability is, that the dark belts are the real surface of the planet, and the brighter parts something analogous to clouds, or some white substances, or belts floating at a considerable elevation above its surface; or, that the globe of Jupiter is partly enclosed within parallel rings of semi-transparent substances, which occasionally vary their position. This planet is attended by four satellites or moons, which were first discovered by Galileo, in 1610. They appear sometimes in one position, sometimes in another, but generally arranged in nearly a straight line with each other. The first, or that nearest Jupiter, accomplishes its revolution round the planet, in one day and eighteen and a-half hours. The second, in three days, thirteen hours. The third, in seven days, three hours, forty-three minutes. The fourth, in sixteen days, sixteen and a-half hours. By the frequent eclipses of these satellites, an opportunity is afforded of determining the longitude of places on the earth's surface, and they first furnished the means of ascertaining the velocity of light. Such a magnificent planet as Jupiter, flying through the ethereal regions at

the rate of 30,000 miles an hour ; revolving round its axis at the rate of 28,000 miles in the same space of time, and carrying along with it in its swift career, four ponderous bodies each larger than our moon, presents an idea of inconceivable grandeur, and exhibits in a striking light, both the wisdom and power of the Omnipotent Creator.

The planet SATURN is the next in order in the system. Its distance from the sun is 906 millions of miles, and the circumference of its orbit 5,695,000,000 miles ; around which it revolves in about twenty-nine and a-half years, carrying along with it seven moons, and two magnificent rings, at the rate of 22,000 miles every hour. Exclusive of its rings, it is above 900 times larger than the earth, and it performs a diurnal rotation in about ten hours and a-half, its equatorial parts moving at the rate of 24,000 miles an hour. Although this planet, considered in all its relations is the most splendid and magnificent body in the system, yet to the naked eye, it presents the appearance of a nebulous star of a dull leaden lustre. The light it receives from the sun is only the one-ninetieth part of that which we enjoy. It exhibits, parallel to its equator, a series of *belts* like those of Jupiter, but much fainter and not so easily distinguished. But the most striking phenomenon connected with this planet is that of the DOUBLE RING, with which it is environed. This appendage to the globe of Saturn, consists of two concentric rings detached from each other, the innermost of which is nearly three times as broad as the outermost. The outside diameter of the exterior ring is 204,000 miles, and its circumference 640,000 miles. Its breadth is 7200 miles, and the dark interval between the two rings 2800 miles. The breadth of the inner ring is about 20,000 miles, and the surfaces of both the rings contain an area of more than twenty-eight thousand, eight hundred millions of square miles. These rings are separated from the globe of Saturn, by a space of about 30,000 miles, and have a swift rotation around it every ten and a-half hours, at the rate of a thousand miles every minute. They preserve invariably their relative positions in respect to the planet, and are carried along with it in its course round the sun. Near the equatorial regions of this globe, these rings during night will present the appearance of luminous arches, one hundred times broader than the apparent size of our moon, extending over the sky and passing near the zenith from east to west. It is natural to enquire what are the *uses* of such a singular and wonderful appendage to this globe. We apprehend they are intended to serve the following, among other purposes :—

1. They are evidently intended to throw light upon this planet, in the absence of the sun ; and to produce a diversity of celestial scenery in its firmament.
2. To give a display of the *grandeur*

of the Divine Being, and of the effects of his Omnipotence. 3. To illustrate his inscrutable *wisdom* and intelligence, in the nice adjustment of their positions and motions, so as to secure their stability and permanency in their revolutions, along with the planet, round the sun. That these rings should be separated 30,000 miles from the body of the planet—that they should, notwithstanding, accompany the planet in its revolution, preserving invariably the same distance from it—that they should revolve around the planet every ten hours, at the immense velocity above stated—and that they should never fly off to the distant regions of space, nor fall down upon the planet—are circumstances which required adjustments far more intricate and exquisite than we can conceive; and demonstrate, that the Almighty Contriver of that stupendous appendage to the globe of Saturn is, indeed, ‘Great in counsel, and mighty in operation.’ 4. We presume, that one of the chief ends for which these rings were created, was, that they might serve as a spacious abode for myriads of intelligent existences; since, the space they contain, is nearly six hundred times the area of all the habitable parts of our globe, and it is not likely that the Creator would leave such a vast space as a desolate waste, without any tribes of sensitive or intelligent being. Saturn is attended by no less than seven moons, which revolve around it, at different distances, and in periods, varying from twenty-two and a-half hours, to seventy-nine days, eight hours; but they are more difficult to be distinguished than those of Jupiter.

The most remote planet of the solar system yet known is URANUS, sometimes distinguished by the names *Herschel*, and the *Georgium Sidus*. This planet was unknown to astronomers, till the year 1781, when it was discovered at Bath, by the late Sir W. Herschel, while pursuing a design he had formed of making minute observations on every region of the heavens. The distance of this planet from the sun, is eighteen hundred millions of miles, which is double the distance of Saturn. When nearest the earth, its distance is 1,705,000,000 miles. In order to acquire a rude conception of this distance, let us suppose a steam carriage to set out from the earth and to move without intermission thirty miles every hour, it would require more than six thousand four hundred and eighty years before it could reach the orbit of Uranus. The circumference of its orbit is 11,314,000,000 miles, through which it moves in about eighty-four years; and although it is the slowest moving body in the system, it pursues its course at the rate of fifteen thousand miles every hour. This planet, though generally invisible to the naked eye, is of very considerable dimensions, being thirty-five thousand miles in diameter, and eighty times larger than our globe. As it is nineteen times



farther from the sun than the earth is, and as the square of 19 is 361, the intensity of light on its surface will be three hundred and sixty times less than what we enjoy. Yet this quantity of light is equal to what we should have from the combined effulgence of three hundred and forty-eight full moons; and, with a slight modification of our visual organs—such as the expansion of the pupil, and an increased degree of sensibility in the retina—such a proportion of light would be quite sufficient for all the purposes of vision. As to the *temperature* of Uranus—we have no reason to conclude that the degree of heat on the surfaces of the different planets, is inversely proportional to the squares of their respective distances from the sun. This might be proved from various circumstances connected with our globe. It is more probable, that heat depends chiefly on the distribution of the *substance of caloric*, on the surfaces and throughout the atmospheres of the planets, in different quantities, according to the different positions they occupy in the system; and that these different quantities are put into action by the influence of the solar rays, so that there may probably be as much sensible heat on the surface of Uranus, as on the planet Mercury. At all events, we may rest assured that the Creator, ‘whose tender mercies are over all his works,’ has adapted the structure and constitution of the inhabitants of every planet, to the nature and circumstances of the habitation provided for them. Six satellites are supposed to be connected with Uranus, but, on account of the great distance of these bodies, and the difficulty of perceiving them, except with telescopes of great light and power, their periods and other phenomena have not yet been very accurately determined. It has been found, however, that these satellites circulate around the planets nearly at right angles with the ecliptic, so that their course is in some measure an exception from the general law of the system of motion from east to west, which obtains in respect to all the other bodies of our system.

Such is a very brief and imperfect sketch of some of the leading facts relating to the bodies which compose the solar system—with the exception of comets, of the nature and destination of which we have hitherto acquired but a very imperfect conception.

All the bodies to which we have now adverted, move in ellipses of different degrees of eccentricity, of which the sun occupies one of the foci. Those ellipses, however, differ very little from circles; and therefore we cannot but find fault with the manner in which they are usually delineated in elementary treatises on astronomy. The orbit of the earth, and those of the other planets, are not unfrequently represented by narrow ellipses, the transverse diameters of which are more than double the length of

the conjugate, or lesser diameters. Now, this has a tendency to convey inaccurate conceptions of the real forms of these orbits to the mind of the astronomical tyro. The eccentricity of the earth's orbit, is 1,618,000 miles, which is only the one hundred and nineteenth part of its transverse axis; that of Venus, the two hundred and seventy-fourth part; and that of Jupiter, the forty-third part. Were any of these orbits to be accurately represented on a scale of one foot diameter, they could scarcely be distinguished at the distance of a few feet from perfect circles. Even the orbits of Juno and Pallas, the eccentricities of which amount to nearly one-eight part of their transverse axes, if exhibited on the same scale would present only a slight deviation from the circular form. The eccentricity of the earth's orbit, is determined from the variation of the apparent diameter of the sun. About the 1st January, when that luminary is nearest the earth, its apparent diameter is 32 minutes, 35 seconds of a degree; when it is farthest distant, about the 1st July, it is only 31 minutes, 31 seconds; which demonstrates, that the earth is nearer the sun at one point of its orbit than at another; and, consequently, that it moves in an orbit which deviates somewhat from the circular form. Again, the orbits of the different planets do not all lie in the same plane, as they appear to do in orreries, and other representations generally given of the solar system. If we suppose a plane to pass through the earth's orbit, and to be extended in every direction, it will trace a line or circle in the starry heavens, which is called the ecliptic. The orbits of the other planets do not lie in this plane, one half of each orbit rising above it, while the other half falls below it; and the points of intersection where the orbits cut the ecliptic, are called nodes. It may be further remarked in respect of the planetary motions:—1. That the motion of a planet is the more rapid, the nearer it is to the sun, so that the radius vector always describes equal surfaces in a given time. 2. That the squares of the times of revolution are to each other as the cubes of the major axes of the orbits. These laws lie at the foundation of all astronomy: they have been tested for every planet, and they have been found so perfectly exact, that astronomers infer the distances of the planets from the sun, from the duration of their sidereal revolutions.

As the planetary orbits are not perfect circles, so the planets themselves are not perfect spheres, but oblate spheroids, having the polar axis somewhat shorter than the equatorial. In the case of the earth, the polar diameter is reckoned about twenty-six miles shorter than the diameter passing through the equator. An orange, and a common turnip are oblate spheroids, and are frequently exhibited to the young to illustrate the figure of the

earth. But such exhibitions tend to convey an erroneous idea; for, although a spheroid of ten feet polar diameter were constructed to exhibit the true figure of the earth, no eye could distinguish the difference between such a spheroid and a perfect sphere; since the difference of its two diameters would scarcely exceed one-third of an inch. The idea of the earth's spheroidal figure appears to have been first suggested by Newton and Huygens, from considerations founded on the fact, that pendulums vibrated more slowly under the equator, than in northern latitudes; and Newton's deductions were completely confirmed by the actual measurement of a degree of latitude, both under the equator, and within the polar regions, it being found to measure more in the latter case, than in the former. A degree of the meridian in Lapland was found to contain 344,627 French feet, while at the equator it was only 340,606; that is, they differ about six and a-half English furlongs. The spheroidal figures of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, have a greater degree of oblateness than that of the earth. In Mars, the equatorial diameter is to the polar, as 16 to 15; consequently, the polar diameter is about two hundred and sixty-three miles shorter than the equatorial. In Jupiter, the proportion is nearly as 14 to 13, and therefore the equatorial is more than six thousand miles longer than the polar diameter. As to Saturn, the proportion of its diameters, is nearly as 11 to 12, the equatorial being six thousand seven hundred miles longer than the polar diameter. The figures of Mercury and Venus, have not yet been accurately determined, as it is seldom that these planets are in such positions, that both diameters can be measured at the same time; and Uranus is at such a distance that the difference of its diameters cannot be easily ascertained, even with the best instruments.

Had our limits permitted, we might have offered a few arguments to prove, that the planetary system to which we have adverted above, is indeed the *true system* of the world. This would appear, if we could prove that the earth revolves round its axis every twenty-four hours, and round the sun in the course of a year, between the orbits of Venus and Mars; and that the sun is the centre of the planetary motions. We can only very briefly advert to this topic. As to the earth's *diurnal* motion, it must either be admitted, or we must necessarily admit the only other alternative, that the sun, moon, planets, comets, and the innumerable host of stars; in other words, all the bodies of the visible universe, revolve around our globe every twenty-four hours. Now, were this the case, the sun would move at the rate of four hundred and fourteen thousand miles in a *minute*; the planet Saturn, at the rate of three millions nine hundred thousand



miles in the same space of time ; and the nearest fixed star, at the rate of fourteen hundred millions of miles during the time that the pendulum of a clock moves from one side to another ; and the more distant stars, at a rate of velocity still greater. Now, there is *no necessity* that such motions should exist in the heavenly bodies in order to produce the alternate succession of day and night, since the same effect can be accomplished by a simple rotation of the earth round its axis, which is the case with Jupiter, Saturn, and other planets much larger than the earth. Besides, could we suppose such rapid motions to exist among the celestial orbs, the whole material fabric of the universe would soon be shattered to atoms. There is no instance known, of a larger body revolving around a smaller, which must be the case on the supposition, that the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are *real* ; and it would be contrary to all the physical laws which have been observed throughout the system of nature. But, what demonstrably proves the falsity of such a supposition, and its utter impossibility, is the consideration, that *it would confound all our ideas of the wisdom and intelligence of the Deity*. It is the part of wisdom to proportionate one thing to another, and to devise the most proper *means*, in order to accomplish important *ends*. Were the inhabitants of London to attempt to construct machinery in order to make the whole city move round in a circle, carrying a lamp in the centre, to throw light and heat over a ball of one inch in diameter, when the same purpose could have been effected by making the ball turn on its axis, all mankind would unite in condemning it as a display of consummate folly. But such a machinery, were it possible to be constructed, would not be half so preposterous, as to suppose that all the bodies in the vast universe are daily revolving around our little globe. And, can we, with any show of consistency, ascribe to *Him*, who 'is the only wise God,' contrivances which we should pronounce to be the perfection of folly in mankind ? It would tend to lessen our ideas of the intelligence of that adorable being, who is 'wonderful in counsel and excellent in working ;' and who is declared to have 'established the world by his wisdom, and stretched out the heavens by his understanding.'

The *annual* motion of the earth round the sun might be proved by such considerations as the following, did our limits permit to explain and illustrate them :—1. It is the most simple and harmonious plan we can conceive of our system, and the most agreeable to the general arrangements of the Creator, that the earth should be considered as a planetary body, revolving round the sun in concert with the other planets. For, by the motion of the earth between the orbits of Venus and Mars, all the phe-

nomena of the heavens are completely accounted for, which they cannot be on any other system. 2. Because it is more rational, and consistent with the general laws of nature, to suppose that the earth moves round the sun, than that the huge masses of the planets—some of which are a thousand times larger than our globe—should perform a revolution round so comparatively small a globe as the earth. 3. It appears most reasonable to conclude that the sun is placed near the centre of the system, as it is the fountain of light and heat for irradiating the worlds within the sphere of its influence; and it is from the centre alone, that those emanations can be distributed *in uniform and equable proportions*, to all the planets. The above considerations are highly probable evidences that the sun is the centre of the system, and that the earth revolves around it. The following are demonstrative:—1. The planets Mercury and Venus are observed to have two *conjunctions* with the sun, but are never in *opposition*, which could not possibly happen, unless the orbits of those planets lay *within* the orbit of the earth. 2. The greatest elongation of Mercury from the sun is twenty-nine degrees, and that of Venus about forty-seven, which answers exactly to the positions and distances assigned them in the system; but if they moved round the earth as a centre, as the ancient astronomers supposed, they would sometimes be seen 180 degrees from the sun, or in *opposition*. 3. The planets, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and all the other superior planets have each their conjunctions with, and oppositions to the sun, which could not be unless their orbits were *exterior* to the orbit of the earth. 4. In the arrangement of the planets in the system, they will all be sometimes much nearer the earth than at other times, and consequently their brightness and apparent diameters will be proportionably greater at one period than at another, which corresponds with every day's observation. But according to the system which places the earth in the centre, their apparent magnitudes should always be equal. 5. When the planets Mercury and Venus are viewed through telescopes, they appear with different *phases*, sometimes round, sometimes *gibbous*, and at other times in the form of a half moon or that of a crescent, which could only happen on the Copernican system, but could not be accounted for on the ancient hypothesis. 6. All the planets in their motions, are seen sometimes to move *direct*, sometimes *retrograde*, and at other times to remain *stationary*—all which diversities of apparent motion are necessary results of the Copernican system, but inexplicable on any other. 7. The law discovered by Kepler, which we have already noticed, namely: 'That the squares of the periodic times of the revolutions of the planets, are as the cubes of their distances,' is a law which is

established on the most accurate observations, and by which all the planets, both primary and secondary are regulated ; but this law is completely set aside and destroyed, were the sun and the planets to be considered as moving around the earth as the centre of their motions.

Our limits will not permit us to enter on the consideration of the *physical causes* of the celestial motion. We shall only observe, that it is now universally admitted by astronomers, that all the planets are attracted and preserved in their orbits, by a power existing in the sun, as the grand centre of their motions—that this force acting on the planets, is in the inverse ratio of the square of their distance from the sun—and that all the bodies in the system attract one another with forces proportional to the quantities of matter they contain. Hence the earth attracts the moon, and retains her in her orbit, and the moon attracts the earth, in proportion to the quantity of matter which that body contains ; and in like manner, Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus, and their respective satellites exert a reciprocal influence upon each other. And, from all the facts which have been observed in relation to this subject, the following general result has been deduced, namely, that all the atoms of matter mutually attract each other, with a force directly proportioned to their masses, and inversely as the square of their distances. But, as the force of attraction, if it existed alone, without any counter-action, would tend to draw all the planets towards the sun, and to unite all the globes in the universe into a single mass ; it is necessary to admit, that all the heavenly bodies received a primitive impulse in a direct line, and, that from the combination of these two forces, arises the curvilinear orbit. All simple motion is naturally rectilinear ; in other words, all bodies, if there were nothing to prevent them, would move in straight lines. But the motions of the planetary bodies are circular, which must arise from a combination of two forces ; the one of which has been called the attractive or centripetal force, and the other the projectile or centrifugal force. The projectile force must be considered as an impulse given to the planets by the hand of the Omnipotent Creator, when they were first arranged and set in motion in the system—which powerful energy is still continued ; and the attractive power, and the laws by which it operates, must be viewed as properties originally impressed upon matter by the allwise Contriver of the universe, and for which we cannot assign any physical cause but the will of the Deity.

We intended adverting to several other topics, but we find we must abstain from doing so. We have presented the above very brief and imperfect sketches, chiefly intended for our youthful readers, as a kind of introduction to the study of astronomy ;



more especially, as we have not had an opportunity, for a considerable time past, of adverting to this subject. We take no notice at present of the sidereal heavens, and of the sublime discoveries of modern times, respecting new and variable stars—double, triple, and quadruple stars—the different orders of the *nebulae*, and other objects in the more distant regions of space, as we expect to have an early opportunity of referring to such subjects in a separate article.

We shall now advert to the volume whose title stands at the head of this article. It is not often we meet with works, in which ‘Astronomy’ and ‘Scripture’ are combined. Many of our modern professional astronomers would scout the idea of considering scripture as having the least relation to astronomy; or of condescending to quote any passages from that sacred record, to illustrate the discoveries of this science; or to impress the mind with a sense of the perfections of that Almighty Being ‘by whom the heavens were made.’ We are glad, both for the sake of science and of religion, that works of a description somewhat similar to that of our author, are occasionally issuing from the press, and that they are perused with a certain degree of avidity both by the Christian public, and by general readers. Such publications have a tendency to counteract the prejudices which many pious persons entertain against the study of science, and at the same time to illustrate the harmony which subsists between the character of the Deity as delineated in the scriptures, and as exhibited in the fabric and arrangements of the material universe. The object our author has in view in the work before us, will be best explained by transcribing his short preface:—

‘The object of this volume is to illustrate the relation between the chief facts of astronomy, and the general testimony of Scripture, with a view to promote the interests of religion and science. It is written popularly, being intended for the use of those classes of young persons who revere the word of God, and seek an acquaintance with his works.’

In prosecuting this object, Mr. Milner has arranged his matter into nineteen chapters, of which the following are the leading titles:—‘Paul and the Athenians.—Idolatry of the heavens.—Superstitious observation of the heavens.—The progress of discovery.—Arrival at truth.—Representations of Scripture.—The sun.—Solar phenomena of the Scriptures.—The inferior planets.—The earth.—Terrestrial phenomena of the Scriptures.—The moon.—Lunar phenomena of the Scriptures.—The superior planets.—Comets.—The stellar phenomena of the Scriptures.—Nebulae and nebular hypothesis.—*Conclusion*, revelation and nature, divine unity, uniform plan of creation, universal

agency, wisdom in the Creator, varieties of operation, prevalence of good, vastness of the universe, consummation.'

In the illustration of these topics the author displays a considerable degree of research and of erudition. He appears to have consulted a great variety of works connected with his subject, and to have condensed the information they contained into a comparatively small compass. He has a style of his own, which is perspicuous and elegant, and he seldom uses the language of the writers from whom he has derived many of the facts and sentiments which pervade his volume. In some instances, perhaps, it would have been not altogether improper to have referred to them. As the elucidation of the topics above stated, is comprehended in a volume of 400 pages, a detailed account of all the facts, principles, and phenomena connected with the heavens is not to be expected; especially, as a considerable portion of the volume is occupied in the consideration of subjects more immediately connected with the Scriptures. In justice to the author, however, it is proper to state, that all the more prominent and interesting facts respecting the history of astronomy—the sun, the moon, the earth, the comets, and the other bodies of the planetary system, the stars, the nebulae, &c., are clearly stated; and the most recent discoveries of astronomical science placed before the view of the reader. Mr. Milner is well acquainted with his subject; he is evidently a man of taste, and one who has a relish for contemplating the beauties and sublimities of nature. Many of the facts and expressions of Scripture, related to his subject, are beautifully illustrated. His powers of description, when delineating the phenomena of nature, are none of the least of his accomplishments; and graceful, and picturesque sketches of natural scenery are interspersed throughout the volume. As a specimen of these, and of the author's general style, we quote the following paragraphs, taken almost at random. They are part of his description of the rising and setting sun.

' Beautiful and imposing is the aspect in which all natural objects are arrayed, as the earth rolls its hills and valleys, floods and forests into the presence of the great luminary, or causes them to recede from his beams. Travellers have spoken with enthusiasm of the prospect from the summit of Etna at sunrise, when the atmosphere is propitious. Elevated at the height of ten thousand feet above the level of the sea, the range of view is prodigious. The lovely island, associated with the thought of its ancient poets, philosophers and historians; its architectural renown; the unrivalled beauty of its landscapes; its never-failing fertility; the sea that girds it, glowing beneath the rays of the ascending sun as far as the visible horizon extends, all unite to form a scene which captivates the cultivated mind, and startles the dull gaze of rustic ignorance.

' Even in our northern latitude, with its proverbially gloomy atmosphere, we are occasionally favoured with 'a morning without clouds,' when the sun pours his effulgence forth with prodigality over the landscape, and clothes its most tame and monotonous features with peculiar grace and attractiveness. But all accounts agree in representing our sunrise, under the most auspicious circumstances, as far inferior to that of the Orientals. Hence the frequency of its introduction as an image in their poetry. Feminine beauty is often thus illustrated. The royal bride in the Canticles is addressed as follows: 'Who is this that looketh forth, fair as the morning.' Theocritus thus delineated the beautiful Helen:—

' As beams the rising morn in vernal pride,  
The golden tressed Helen all outvied.'—pp. 106, 107.

' Not less inviting are those [the scenes of beauty] connected with his setting. The most gorgeous sunsets are said to take place in the West Indies, during the rainy season, when the sky is sublimely mantled with gigantic masses of clouds which are tinged with the glare of the descending luminary, and which seem to be impatiently waiting for his departure, in order to discharge their pent up wrath on the bosom of the night. Sunset in the South Atlantic has a milder and more sober aspect; in the eastern tropics, it has generally an overpowering fierceness, as though the last expression of the solar heat should be the greatest; but in temperate latitudes, there is often such serenely beautiful horizons, such rich and varied dyes, such mellowness of light, and such objects to be irradiated by it, as it is impossible to view without mingled emotions of awe, gratitude, and delight. Mrs. Hemans, writing to a friend observes: 'I rode round Grassmere and Rydal Lake in the evening. The imaged heaven in the waters more completely filled my mind, even to overflowing, than any object in nature did before. I thought of the scriptural expression, 'a sea of glass mingled with fire.' No other words are fervid enough to convey the least impression of what lay burning before me. But independent of these visible glories, there are memories—trains of thought in relation to the past and the future—which a beautiful sunset is apt to excite, which are calculated to affect the mind and improve the heart. Are we keeping like him our appointed path? Is our course tending to a proper termination? Have we preserved the feelings unimpaired, and the aims unneglected, with which in early life, we marked his retirement.'—pp. 127, 128.

In explaining scriptural facts, such circumstances as the following are particularly noticed:—the three days darkness in Egypt; the sun and moon standing still; retrocession of the shadow on the sun dial of Ahaz; darkness at the crucifixion; the seasonal changes in Judea; the astronomical allusions in the book of Job, &c. &c. On the whole, we have perused this volume, with a high opinion of its merits, and of the accomplishments of its author. Such publications have a tendency to undermine scepticism and infidelity, to enlarge the capacity of the human mind, and to enable christians to take lofty and



agency, wisdom in the Creator, varieties of operation, prevalence of good, vastness of the universe, consummation.'

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comprehensive views both of the revelations contained in scripture, and of the wonderful works of the Most High, throughout the universe. We, therefore, most cordially recommend the volume before us, both to the Christian and the general reader, and particularly to 'those classes of the young who revere the word of God, and seek an acquaintance with his works.'

We noticed a few inaccuracies in different places, such as, p. 75, 1618 instead of 1610. p. 86, E C D instead of E D C. p. 119, line 17, the word *not* should be erased. p. 268, line 17, *has* for *have*. In p. 289, the force of gravity at the surface of Jupiter, is represented as being *eight times* as great as on the surface of the earth, which will be found to be inaccurate. But these and several other oversights, we are disposed to consider as *errata* of the printer. We will just add, that the volume has an elegant frontispiece in oil colours, illustrative of the phenomena of *Parhelia*, and twenty-nine small wood cuts.

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Art. V. '*The League Newspaper*,' London.

THE disciple of truth has no greater joy than to mark her triumphant progress, and seeks no higher honour than to be a contributor to her success: her sceptre is wielded with undoubted authority, and obtains a welcome ascendancy over his mind; and, therefore, when others yield submission, and render a willing and grateful homage, it is an occasion of congratulation. However abstract the dogmas, or abstruse the principles of disquisition, if they be true they are counted sacred, and their stability and defence are desired more than gold,—they are clothed in the forms of beauty, and vested with sovereign power.

The cold and frigid speculations of political economy—the metaphysical distinctions of national morals, have excited the admiration and secured the allegiance of faithful adherents. Adam Smith, Maculloch, Senior, and Colonel Thompson, have done homage and fealty, and, by their contributions and services offered at the shrine of truth, have promoted the well-being of mankind and the decrees of justice. In the morning they sowed their seed, and in the evening did not withhold their hand. In the midst of much obloquy and general scepticism, they struggled to develop sound principles, and to diffuse the knowledge of them. By elaborate and voluminous writings—by critical and periodical literature, they successfully laboured to extend the dominions of philosophy, and to cast down the



strongholds of ignorance and oppression. Utilitarianism and expediency seemed to symbolize; while the pride and sufficiency of human intellect appeared to renounce subjection to an authority which was paramount, because *Divine*; but "truth was in the field, and though all the winds of doctrine were let loose, nothing was lost in the encounter." Ignorance has been subdued, and error has been vanquished;—the sceptre of righteousness prevails.

Dissertations on political economy were followed by associations of learned men, and the coteries of philosophers were ultimately supplanted by the more practical movements of commercial confederacies. Chambers of Commerce enunciated the application as well as justice of abstract principles, in reference to subjects in which their interests were involved; though, in some cases, they acted inconsistently with them. By resolutions, memorials, and addresses, they pleaded for the adoption of sounder and more equitable principles of barter,—they shewed the evils of invidious restrictions, and the injuries inflicted by certain monopolies,—and they urged the abandonment of laws which diminished consumption, or circumscribed the enterprise of labour, ingenuity, and capital. Freedom of trade in one branch, became a prelude to free trade in every branch of commerce.

The rise and progress of THE LEAGUE followed—and few incidents of modern history more deserve a record and a memorial. This "great fact" casts into the shade deeds of more classic celebrity, and events of more chivalrous fame. The council of Amphictyons, or the Achean League—the battle of Marathon, or the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants—agrarian laws, plebeian jealousies, and patrician rapacity,—are schoolboy tales, affording no parallel to the warfare of opinion which is now waged by the League; and which no demonstration of physical strength, or aristocratic combination, will suffice successfully to resist. A brief retrospect may serve to connect the past and present, and illustrate the question which now so widely engrosses public attention.

In 1796, it was stated by parliamentary authorities, that the annual consumption of wheat in England was about six millions of quarters. Between the years 1771 and 1791, there was no rise of prices in the wheat market; while great agricultural changes, if not improvements, were effected. The liberty of importation had been granted for wheat by an act of parliament in 1773; but as, by various acts, from the commencement of George the Third's reign till 1797, 2,804,197 acres of *waste land* had been enclosed, and of course appropriated by the oligarchy; the landholders, wishing to turn them to a profitable possession, appre-

hended that an increasing demand would, by this liberty of importation, be prevented from raising their prices; they therefore clamoured about *habitual dependence on foreigners* for supplies of corn; and an act was obtained in 1791, by which the price was raised to 54*s.* before the quarter of wheat could be imported at 6*d.* duty; when above 50*s.* and below 54*s.*, the duty was fixed at 2*s.* 6*d.*; and when under 50*s.*, a prohibitory duty of 24*s.* 3*d.* was imposed. The practice of bonding foreign wheat was now legalized, with a warehouse duty of 2*s.* 6*d.* per quarter.

From 1797 till 1801 an artificial currency, and the Bank of England monopoly, gave fresh stimulus to agriculture; and, during a temporary scarcity, produced the mania for cultivating poor soils,—the natural operation of which threatened ruin to the farmer in 1802 and 1803, and countenanced the injustice of another corn-law in 1804. This act made farther encroachments on the liberty of importation: a prohibitory duty of 24*s.* 3*d.* was enacted, when the price of wheat had fallen to 63*s.* per quarter; 2*s.* 6*d.* was fixed as the duty between 63*s.* and 66*s.* Statistical returns of the price of grain at that period, render plausible the representation that these enactments remained a dead letter; but this would be a delusive conclusion: other causes operated. The unnatural warfare which raged, and the deficient crops which were reaped, powerfully affected the results. Our imports were restricted, and the natural demand for our manufactures was diminished; while our paper currency, depreciated in comparison of the bullion by at least 4 per cent.,—sometimes as much as 27 per cent.,—was no equal or legitimate rule of exchange or standard of price. Wheat ranged during 1806, 1807, and 1808, from 66*s.* to 75*s.* per quarter; but from 1809 till 1813, it averaged 95*s.*, 106*s.*, 94*s.*, 125*s.*, 109*s.* per quarter. Changes, however, began to threaten in the political horizon; and, in the following year, prices fell to 74*s.* per quarter.

The *game of war* had been played by European rulers so long, that commerce was brought under the operation of artificial influence, and the value of all property was presented under a fictitious aspect. The production of food, and the manufacture of clothing, had been subjected to the gambling speculations incident to international warfare. The battle-field, diplomacy, and sinecure place-hunting, had served as a drain on the surplus aristocracy of England; while commissariat contracts for the supply of the army and navy, had surreptitiously enhanced the price of food, and raised to an unnatural value the landed rental. The revenue of the proprietors of the soil had been greatly increased, but their habits of indulgence and luxury had equally expanded.

When wars ceased, it was quickly discerned that the collapse which followed peace would naturally diminish the demand for agricultural produce, and render necessary a reduction in the rent of land. The parties threatened possessed political ascendancy, the senate was their creature and the instrument of their domination; and new corn-laws were enacted to maintain war prices,—to perpetuate war rentals,—and to secure to the lords of the soil the wealth of the people, the luxuries and ascendancy of aristocratic dominion. Whatever were the disguises or pretences of argument, the protestations of equity, or the patriotic apprehensions of dependence on foreigners, the philosophy, the motive, and the end of corn-laws, was—*rent*.

Not satisfied with the restrictions which law already imposed on commerce, the landlords, in 1814, wished that duties should be levied on corn imported from 64*s.* and upward, till the price should reach 86*s.*, with a duty of 1*s.* Some thought the standard might be fixed between 90*s.* and 100*s.*; but others insisted it ought to be fixed not lower than 120*s.* per quarter. Mr. Robinson, the present Lord Ripon, conducted the case in the house of commons; and his followers presumed that his measure would fix the price of wheat at a sufficiently remunerative point. The corn-law of 1815, which prohibited the introduction of wheat till the price had reached 80*s.* per quarter, was enacted under the protection of soldiery at Westminster, and in spite of the most hostile demonstrations in the metropolis and the provinces. In Lancashire, Lanarkshire, and Yorkshire, the most solemn, energetic, and threatening protests against the measure were urged by the mercantile and manufacturing classes; and if, through the forbearance of the people, torrents of blood were not then shed, the sanguinary and fatal catastrophes of Peterloo and Bonnymuir had their origin in the bitter resentments engendered at that time.

The expectations of monopoly were disappointed, except so far as related to the landlord's *rent*; there was a ruinous fluctuation of prices, and a cry of agricultural distress was raised. The Commons appointed committees, and they reported; discussions were renewed and changes were proposed. In the spirit of a delusive compromise, and with a show of reluctant mitigation altogether nugatory, a new act was passed in 1822—which declared that after prices had risen to the limit of free importation, fixed by the act of 1815, that act was to cease, giving place to the new statute. Seventy shillings was now to be the price at which wheat could be imported; but in order to secure the landlords still further, under specious pretexts, it was enacted that a duty of 17*s.* should be laid on every quarter of wheat from foreign countries during the first three months after the opening



of the ports, if the price was between 70s. and 80s. a quarter, and 12s. of duty afterwards; and if the price was between 80s. and 85s., the duty was to be 10s. during the first three months, and 5s. afterwards; and if the price exceeded 85s.. then the duty should be 1s.

A few years afterwards deficiency in the crop was so strongly apprehended, that the King was authorized to admit 500,000 quarters of foreign wheat on payment of such duties as the order in council for its importation should declare. This investiture in the royal prerogative was designed to prevent disastrous consequences from the operation of a corn-law. Other orders in council setting the obnoxious law aside were found necessary. The absurdity and malignant operation of the statute became daily more apparent, and Mr. Canning, in March, 1827, proposed resolutions, and attempted to substitute a law reducing the graduated point of the scale, and relaxing the restrictions which had operated so banefully. But the minister's intentions were frustrated by the Duke of Wellington, whose policy interdicted all foreign importation till the home price should exceed 66s. a quarter. In 1828 a modification of Mr. Canning's plan was enacted by his petty rivals, whose mean jealousies had thwarted his policy in the previous year. The duty was fixed at 18s. 8d. when the price was 70s., making a reduction in the duty of 8s. when the *price* of wheat was only 3s. higher. A fixed duty of 1s. was to be exacted when the price had reached 73s. a quarter, and a rising duty of 25s. 8d. when the price of wheat was 61s. a quarter.

The juggling dishonesty of the legislature was now made applicable to the traffic in corn; and rogues in grain were the natural fruit. The national gambling induced by fluctuating averages and the possibility of making them subservient to profitable speculation, with all their disastrous consequences, have only been equalled by the plunder of the people, the misery of the myriads, and the bankruptcy of the national commerce which they have occasioned.

The opinion formed by Mr. Huskisson of the baneful and absurd operation of such laws had been corroborated by all experience. It limited the markets from which our supplies were drawn, it destroyed the vent which otherwise we should have had for our occasional excess of produce, and exposed us to an alternate fluctuation of high and low prices. It affected the price of labour and the comforts of the labourer; and cramped the resources not only of the manufacturer, but of the farmer himself. Within two years the price of corn had varied from 112s. to 38s. a quarter: *such fluctuation deprived the farmer of all security, and converted his business into mere gambling.* When

a bad harvest made it necessary to go to foreign markets, the price of corn immediately advanced, whether by the fiscal charges of their governments or the demands of the private merchants. The result was, that our exchanges were suddenly altered, and the required supply was obtained under the greatest possible disadvantages. Violent and extreme fluctuations so affected the supplies of the people, that this lamented statesman could only compare the nation to a man kept for *a week without food and then supplied with double the usual quantity*—a mode of averaging the general supply which he thought *gentlemen* would not much relish if enforced on themselves, and which therefore should not be administered to the multitude.

The doom of the sliding scale was proclaimed by the whig budget of 1841, and the new corn law of Sir R. Peel was a legislative *unsettlement* of the system, preparative, even if not designed, for the overthrow of the landlords' monopoly. The admissions made by the premier, and the acknowledgments of his home secretary; the avowals of his colleague at the board of trade, and the taciturn acquiescence of their adherents on the ministerial benches, indicated the near approach of the great catastrophe. There is no alternative to the present system of prohibition, by rests, duties, and sliding scales, but the principle of *free barter*—to purchase in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets—and it is the doctrine of *common sense*, according to the sage reflections of a cabinet minister, to pursue unfettered competition with all the nations of the world. The Peel *nostrum* has proved a stimulant rather than a quietus; and while the empiric has sought to dose the patient with narcotics, he has but precipitated the disease to a crisis.

We may pause, however, and trace the steps of that more recent movement which is now covering the land and casting the time-worn mechanism of monopoly out of joint, to the terror and manifest confusion of its patrons. The series of pungent and effective articles which appeared in the Westminster Review had prepared a few in the metropolis for confederacy, and convinced them of the necessity of combined exertion. Colonel Thompson, the veteran leader and enlightened advocate of free trade, therefore succeeded in drawing around him an association of men willing to co-operate for the extinction of monopoly, in the year 1838. For a season they united in object and effort, and sustained the cause of free trade till other agitations and interests absorbed their energies or distracted their attention. Their zeal required greater stimulus, and their combination was inefficient for immediate success without the resources and enthusiasm of the multitude. Perhaps they were at too great a distance from the appliances and practical illustrations of trade, and from

the intercourse of those who could personally sympathize in the justice of the claim, on account of the direct interest which the operation of monopoly gave them in the solution of the question.

It was befitting that the *focus* of the agitation should be localized where capital, industry, and intelligence could be secured; and whence central effort could extend its influence with facility and promptitude. There is a tide in human affairs, and there is a God that ruleth over all. There is a hand that guides, and a superintending as well as a controlling agency which wings an angel and rolls the stars in their orbits. There is a completeness and harmony among the courses of human action, however invisible to human perception, no less than there is a music of the spheres and a seasonable arrangement in 'the sweet influences of Pleiades and the bands of Orion.' On the 18th of September, 1838, Dr. Bowring, on his way to Blackburn, was entertained at Manchester. The gentlemen who rendered this honour to the present member for Bolton did not anticipate the events naturally traceable to their act of hospitality. Between fifty and sixty friends of free trade assembled at the York Hotel. The banquet was simple, but the object was grand. Archibald Prentice, Esq., Editor of the Manchester Times, acted as chairman, and Mr. P. Thomson as vice chairman. Dr. Bowring's eloquent exposition of the principles of free trade and the calamitous effects of monopoly, especially in the food of the people, upon our foreign relations, was followed by the honest and generous appeals of Mr. George Hadfield. The chairman, in proposing 'the health and comfort of the *poor hand loom weavers*, who had set the example of petitioning for the repeal of the corn laws,' regretted that the *merchants and manufacturers* of Manchester should have been so long supine, under a system which threatened ultimate national degradation and bankruptcy. The chamber of commerce, confederated to watch over the trading interests, had been inert and seemingly indifferent, while the *handloom weavers*, who could not buy paper for their petition without assistance, had sent a petition for the repeal of the corn laws, bearing 22,000 signatures. These observations from Mr. Prentice suggested to Mr. J. Howie that, since they had no organised system for opposing monopoly, the company present should at once form themselves into an association. This proposition was so far realized that it was resolved that on the following Monday, the 24th of September, a meeting should be held to form a committee, who should make the preliminary arrangements for this object.

On the day appointed, *seven gentlemen*, moving none of them in spheres of great influence, met to form the association. The organisation which they proposed, and the principles which



they recognized, have been perpetuated. They were the origin and the nucleus of the anti-corn law league; and though the association, by a happy suggestion of Mr. Cobden's afterwards entitled 'THE LEAGUE,' has been extended as a national institution, whose operations will affect the world of commerce, and revolutionize the policy of imperial states, it is still the offspring of that day's counsel; and will continue to bring renown on the projectors. Their names are, therefore, deserving an enduring record, and a place in the annals of national free trade. The names of *the seven* were, Messrs. E. Baxter, W. P. Cunningham, A. Dalziel, J. Howie, J. Leslie, A. Prentice, and P. Thompson. They have continued steadfast to their principles and the cause; and though, others have stood more prominently forward in the struggle, none have more ingenuously rejoiced in the success of the work. For a season they found shyness and hesitation on the part of the wealthy and powerful. The manufacturers and merchants of Manchester seemed to expect, that the *Chamber of Commerce* would take the lead. But being disappointed in this expectation, on Thursday the 4th of October, at a meeting of the friends of free trade, one hundred gentlemen avowed their conviction of the necessity of a new organization, and enrolled their names as members of the anti-corn law association. Next week a provisional committee was formed, and their names announced. In this list were included many who, by property, personal influence, and enlightened advocacy, have strenuously promoted the cause. Here were, J. Bright, and E. Armitage, W. R. Callender and George Hadfield, James Kershaw, and T. Potter, W. Rawson, and George Wilson, C. J. S. Walker, and J. B. Smith and other men of equal zeal; but, as yet, Richard Cobden was absent from home, and therefore not entered in the association. *His time* soon arrived, and his willing services were rendered efficiently and with success.

The chief anxiety of the committee was to confederate men of definite and steady principle who should espouse the cause, not for the sake of party or display. Wealth was less sought for than integrity, and moral influence was more desired than rank or connections. Though money was not the recommendation of the associate, yet it was employed as a subsidiary; a means to the end, and a test of sincerity. Each member subscribed five shillings; and the sum deposited with John Benjamin Smith, Esq., as the treasurer, was less than £30., when the association resolved to employ a lecturer. It was a bold and almost hazardous undertaking, in the judgment of some, who were so cautious as to hesitate to war with the dominant landlords. If the committee made a perilous adventure, much more did their lecturer, Mr. Paulton, make a desperate experiment when he committed

himself to the fearful odds, single handed, to contend against the whole host of political antagonism, which his assault on the corn laws would excite and enlist against him.

Besides the weekly meetings of the committee, and the frequent reports of their proceedings which appeared in the newspapers, and especially in the *Manchester Times*, which had declared it would never cease its warfare waged against the iniquitous taxation of the people's bread; the committee now employed Mr. Paulton to agitate the subject throughout the country.

On Thursday, October 25th, 1838, he delivered a long, able, and eloquent lecture in the Corn Exchange, Manchester, to a crowded audience, J. B. Smith, Esq., in the chair; when great enthusiasm was created and evinced. Few public lecturers could so continuously sustain an intellectual effort in the highest style of argumentation and philosophical disquisition, as could Mr. Paulton; while the intensity of interest excited in his audience was not permitted to subside throughout the lengthened and elaborate discussion, of even the driest statistics and arithmetical details. He delivered a second lecture a few days afterwards, along with the report of which, appeared an advertisement of an enlarged provisional committee, containing the name of Richard Cobden, Esq. To Manchester manufacturers, this name was a guarantee of increased efficiency. The spark kindled so auspiciously, began now to ignite the smouldering mass of discontent which domineering monopoly had produced throughout the country. Invitations poured in on Mr. Paulton, to visit the most populous towns; and while the organs of landlord oppression were assailing him with virulent abuse, and giving the alarm to their confederates, for his denunciations of their system of robbery, he was welcomed in Birmingham on the 26th and 28th of November, when he lectured in the Town Hall, to crowded and enthusiastic assemblies. Wolverhampton sympathised with Birmingham, and demonstrated the extensive interest taken by the industrial classes in this vital question. The ASSOCIATION now began to contemplate a wider range of objects and operations. They proposed the formation of a fund for diffusing information, either by lectures or by pamphlets, and defraying the expense of petitioning—and above all, creating an organisation to bring numbers together in such force, and with such energy of purpose, as to secure the great object—the complete freedom of trade, by the destruction, not only of the corn monopoly, but of all other monopolies which hang upon that monster grievance.

December was rendered deeply interesting in Manchester, by the proceedings of this association. They issued on the 8th, a spirit-stirring address, signed 'J. B. Smith,' which was sent to every part of the kingdom; accompanied by a circular recom-

mending the establishment of similar associations. On the 13th and again on the 20th, the chamber of commerce, by adjourned meetings, attracted public and intense attention to their discussion of the corn laws. The auditory was crowded, and the speakers were deeply pledged to give the subject their best consideration. The facts elicited in the speeches of the most intelligent merchants and manufacturers, made a powerful impression on the public, as well as the chamber, and diffused through the whole manufacturing and commercial community of the kingdom, the liveliest sensation. At an interval of a week, the discussions were protracted for five hours each; and then, solemnly and with unequivocal impression, the chamber decided by a majority of six to one to issue the declaration, '*that unless the corn laws be immediately abolished, the destruction of our manufactures is inevitable.*' All shades of political opinion joined in this assertion; and farther, '*that the great and peaceful principle of free trade on the broadest scale, is the only security for our manufacturing prosperity, and the welfare of every portion of the community.*' Messrs. R. H. Greg, J. B. Smith, R. Cobden, W. Rawson, and Mr. Dyer, were the most distinguished speakers, and produced such impressions during the debate, that, afterwards they were specified as entitled to the thanks of their fellow townsmen for their valuable statements, and the ability with which they brought them forward.

The *Manchester Times*, a willing and able coadjutor, was employed to report these proceedings, and sent to each of the ministers of the crown. It was resolved, that they should not be able to plead ignorance of what was doing, while the question submitted to their consideration was an alternative—*the ruin of our manufactures, or the repeal of the corn laws.* The year 1839, was ushered in with extended co-operation. Glasgow, with several other Scottish towns, was stirred up to demand justice. Leeds, Bradford, and Sheffield, were combined in efforts to obtain 'a repeal of the starvation-creating, and trade-ruining enactment.' It was now found, that resources must be provided; and many believed and adopted Mr. Cobden's recommendation, '*that an investment of a part of their property, might save the rest from confiscation.*' A meeting was held at the York Hotel, Manchester, on the 10th January, nearly £2,000. were subscribed in the room, after R. H. Greg, Esq., and J. B. Smith, Esq., had urged petitions to parliament, and a prayer that they might bring evidence at the bar of the house as to the working of the laws. The chairman, Mr. H. Hoole asserted, that he, as well as the people in his employment, were threatened with ruin by the operation of the corn laws; and others declared that their business was altogether unprofitable, through



the influence of the landlord's monopoly. Liverpool had now begun to move in the same direction; and the mayor of that borough convened a public meeting of the inhabitants, for the adoption of such measures as would promote the repeal of the corn laws.

The Manchester anti-corn law association had resolved to convene their friends at a public dinner in the Corn Exchange, and nearly 800 persons assembled; many of them from distant towns, and also the most distinguished merchants, manufacturers and traders of Manchester. Members of parliament for Leicester, Leeds, Westminster, the Tower Hamlets, Birmingham, Ludlow, Rochester, Clitheroe, Bolton, Wolverhampton, Bury, Stockport, and many of the municipal authorities from these and other towns, mingled in this demonstration against oppressive and unjust laws, which was made on the 22nd January, 1839. The speeches and sentiments then uttered, and the enthusiasm excited, were conducive to the progress of the cause; but the most significant circumstance was, that in a few days—before the 2nd of February—£5,900. were subscribed to the fund. On this occasion, the Earl of Durham avowed his convictions against the corn laws, in unequivocal terms. 'I am convinced,' he wrote in a letter to the chairman, 'that the operation of corn laws is as injurious to the agriculturist, as to the manufacturer; and that their repeal would equally tend to the mutual advantage of both classes. I believe that any diminution in the price of corn would be more than counterbalanced by that increased consumption of all other articles of agricultural produce, which would be created by the extension of commercial enterprise; the fresh impulse that would be given to manufacturing industry; and the great additional employment which would be consequently afforded to the labouring classes.'

In the month of February, nearly three hundred delegates, representing almost all the large towns in the kingdom, met in London, preparatory to a motion of Mr. Villiers, in the House of Commons. The various associations when thus combined were, for the first time, denominated THE LEAGUE; a designation most significant of the union and determination with which they have pursued their object, and of the power which they have acquired in the state. The branches of this league, registered and numbered, have since acted in concert for the one object. The *Anti-Bread Tax Circular* was now published, and more lecturers employed to carry forward the agitation. The means of the League were enlarged; but the demands on its resources were speedily to be extended. They, therefore, more distinctly specified their objects, and contemplated operations.

'We have been nobly supported hitherto,' they say, 'by a munificent

and select body of subscribers ; but the time has now arrived, when we must enlarge the circle of our supporters, to enable us to extend the field of our operations. We ask for pecuniary assistance of all who believe in the justice and paramount importance of the abolition of the food monopoly ; we ask it for two reasons : in the first place, because the money is essential to the accomplishment of our task. We have entered upon the Herculean labour of educating an entire nation. To inform twenty-seven millions of people upon all the evils of monopoly, and all the advantages of free trade, will require an expenditure of money proportionate to the greatness of the undertaking. Secondly, we ask for aid from every friend and well-wisher, because by our subscription list will the numbers and strength of the free trade party be measured by our opponents. They will appreciate lightly, the zeal which does not take the direction of the pocket. In Ireland, poor oppressed potatoe-fed Ireland, tens of thousands of pounds were contributed in one year for the catholic rent, and then emancipation followed ! We ask, nay we claim, the prompt pecuniary aid of the bread-eaters of the kingdom, of whatever class, age, sect, or calling ; we call on all to contribute towards the glorious object of untaxing the bread of the people, and striking the fetters from the industry of a great nation.'

The generous confidence and noble aims thus developed by the council of the League, were cordially embraced by the nation, and efforts were made to sustain the measures which circumstances suggested.

The principle of representation, so admirable *in theory*, as recognized in the British constitution, has been singularly popular and efficient in the movements of the League. Whatever their abstract opinions be of parliamentary suffrage or of the duration of parliaments, in the choice of delegates they have recognized *complete* suffrage, and in the period of their service they have not exceeded a year in duration. The *quasi* parliaments convened, for the abolition of the corn laws, by the League in London, have in many ways promoted the accomplishment of their object. The delegates have had a direct appointment from the people, immediate instructions from their constituents, and generally have had their expenses defrayed ; they have made direct reports of procedure, and joined the community in carrying into effect their counsels. In this mode the London conventions of the League have fixed national attention on their proceedings, have extorted a consideration of their claims from a reluctant legislature, and have urged upon the ministers of the crown their responsibility and the consequences of indifference to the national welfare and public opinion. Publication has been multiplied to the extent of periodical literature, and the organs of every party in the press have been constrained to agitate, discuss, or denounce the claims of the League. A moral dignity, a benevolent aspect, a national character, and the grandeur of

noble and generous enterprise have been impressed on the combinations of the League by these annual convocations of the best, the most industrious and useful members of the community in the presence of the empire and the age. The senate has felt their influence, and monopoly has quailed before their intelligence and just demands. Every year has witnessed these moral triumphs, and exhibited the shrinking apprehensions of a once powerful oligarchy.

In 1840 the council of the League advanced with a bolder attitude, and increased its agency and operations. Preparations on a magnificent scale had been made in the midst of great *eclat* and excitement for a free trade banquet. The erection of a temporary pavilion in Manchester sufficient to accommodate four or five thousand persons, showed a determination and energy which would not yield to subordinate difficulties. The significant and elevated tone of preparation which was sustained preliminary to the meeting; the classes and character of the men who received and responded to the invitations of the council; and the enthusiasm and expectation which their arrangements excited to the remotest parts of the empire, gave auspicious omen of success. Three thousand five hundred gentlemen, and three hundred ladies assembled on the first evening; and mingled with a fervour and animation in the proceedings which gave sure presage of ultimate conquest. On the evening following, the 14th of January, 1840, five thousand persons of the operative classes assembled in the same hall to testify the sympathy and to pledge the co-operation of the masses in the generous and national conflict. When the affections of woman, and the solicitude and resources of the skilled artificer were once pledged to the cause, it was manifest that the triumph was only a question of time. The thousands who had assembled from a distance, representing every class, from the peerage to the peasantry, conveyed the impression and the impulse which they had received to the districts and spheres in which they usually moved; and their effort and ambition were directed to excite and ripen the mind of the people for union and combination in the speedy overthrow of monopoly, and the establishment of wise and equitable principles of national commerce. The *League* could now enlarge its field of operations. A greater number of lecturers was employed, and a wider range was occupied. The press was regarded with increasing confidence, and engaged in more discursive efforts. Pamphlets began to give place to tracts; and the distribution of these silent but insinuating messengers of free trade was directed to districts where lecturers could not find access. It was deemed desirable not only to enlighten manufacturers in the rights of their labour and the benefits of un-



restricted commerce; but also to instruct the agriculturist that as a nation could never prosper by inflicting injustice on any portion of the community, so they could not permanently profit by a system which injured their own customers and countrymen; that the prosperity of commerce would necessarily benefit agriculture and increase the market for its produce. Where they could be brought within the means of information the farmer and his servant were visited and taught. The apprehensions of the whig ministry that their antagonists would over-reach them and gain their places, were presumed to be the occasion of some suggested advances towards free trade in the shape of fixed duties and changes in the tariff. Reverses in trade, and the cry of want among the people; a falling revenue and changes in certain commercial treaties with the continent and America, the altered circumstances of the Canadian colonists and the West Indian interests, strengthened the new opinions and growing convictions of whig financiers, and corroborated the reasonings and representations of the leaguers. And at length, either as a last resort—a sort of death-bed repentance—or as the honest expression of enlarged principle and more enlightened judgment, the ministry proposed their *fixed duty* on corn, and their modification of discriminating duties on sugar, coffee, &c.

In a retrospect of the progress of free trade, justice demands a notice of what was done in parliament. The number of enlightened and effective advocates among our senators was small, and for some time their introduction of the subject upon the floor of the House of Commons was treated as a pragmatistical crotchet, rather than as a wise deliberative appeal to the decision of the legislature. The sliding scale, or prohibitory duties, found some influential antagonists; but a prime minister fancied he could with impunity say that the statesman must be mad who could seriously propose the abolition of the corn laws. The Hon. C. P. Villiers did, however, stand forth generously and with moral fortitude, as a scion of the aristocracy and an aspirant for political influence, in vigorous and repeated attacks upon monopoly: urging the claims of freedom and the wisdom of abrogating all restrictions upon the interchange of British manufactures with the natural produce of other lands. Gentle by nature, and unassuming in manners, amidst all the blandishments of the fashionable coterie, and all the conventionalities of an unthinking but tyrant majority, he boldly shrunk not from the duties and position of leader in the forlorn hope of parliamentary free traders. Great, comprehensive principles, ardent and generous sympathy with the people, a philosophical apprehension of the wisdom of applying the maxims of equity in the national government, combined with a readiness to sacri-

fice partial interests in promoting the general welfare, have distinguished the political course, and especially the noble and faithful services to the cause of free trade rendered by the honorable member for Wolverhampton. Mr. Villiers was for a season the only representative of the League in the House. But an incident occurred which led the council to propose the increase of their parliamentary advocates. A vacancy occurred in Walsall, and a probability appeared that a free trade candidate might be successful. Though the effort threatened at first a collision with the liberal whigs, yet the principle was so vital and the question so urgent, that at the risk of alienating the whig aristocracy, the League determined to appear in the person of their chairman, J. B. Smith, Esq., to solicit the suffrage of the electors. The sympathy so spontaneously elicited from the voters in other boroughs, and the public excitement and anxiety expressed throughout the country about the issue, demonstrated the beneficial influence of the experiment. Mr. Smith was defeated, but the League obtained a moral triumph, and established and extended its reputation in the country. The cause of free trade made progress, and political partisans were taught a lesson which they could practically understand. The Walsall election was the beginning of the parliamentary career of the League. It was then fighting for its existence, and it fought tooth and nail; but it now fights with more assured might for ultimate success, and can take more time to measure and judiciously aim its blows. It has risen above the attempts to put it down, and its conduct may have acquired more character; but its adventure at Walsall was requisite to give it impetus and movement. It was an index that the controversy was about to agitate the constituencies, and place the parliamentary relations of political parties in a state of perilous transition. The *ci-devant* liberals had most reason to be apprehensive of the consequences among their supporters. Such considerations might influence their policy and produce the fixed duty of 8s. upon which an appeal was made to the country.

The election of 1841 was the response of the nation under adverse influences, and amidst inauspicious impressions. Monopoly desperately and unscrupulously roused its last energies to a death-like struggle, and sacrificed character and property to protract its selfish grasp. The FIXED DUTY was only a compromise, and the people doubted the sincerity of its advocates; while the proposition failed to elicit a cordial reception among the more intelligent and active of the free traders. At the most they regarded it only as a bit by bit reform not deserving, and therefore not securing for its authors any of the enthusiasm or generous sympathy of the nation. The principle of free trade

had been brought on the field, but deprived of the auspices and resources of any of the organized political parties, and avowed as the watchword only of those who were reputed extreme in opinions, and whose tactics in parliamentary warfare were novel, unskilled, and immature. The League planted their standard, therefore, only in a few of the boroughs, and chiefly in the circle of the manufacturing districts. Wolverhampton and Stockport, Bolton and Bury, Salford and Manchester, Sheffield and Walsall, Glasgow and Kilmarnock, Ashton and Greenock, triumphed against monopoly. Other places bravely fought, and honourably lost the victory. Some of the best advocates of free trade were excluded from the senate; but while Hull and Leeds failed to return Colonel Thompson and Joseph Hume, the League could boast of Villiers and Cobden, Bowring and Milner Gibson; and though in former parliaments only a few score could be persuaded *in the house* to vote along with Mr. Villiers in his motions of inquiry, the minority in this parliament have been increased to one hundred and thirty, who desire the emancipation of commerce from all restrictions, and a free exchange of our manufactures for the productions of all the countries of the world. Corn laws, fixed, or discriminative duties, and sliding scales, have been identified with an injurious and blindfold policy, with oppression and misrule. Politically and commercially such schemes had become palpably suicidal and ruinous: but it remained to brand them as impious and unjust, as violating moral precepts and warring with Christian principles and divine benevolence, as exhibited in the order of creation and the mutual dependence of mankind in every clime.

The momentary triumph of monopoly, and the fearful catastrophe which threatened soon to involve the commerce and happiness of all classes of the nation, excited the alarm and awoke the anxiety of the ministers of religion, especially amongst the multitudes who were most exposed to the misery and ruin which approached. A few of the most zealous yielded to the suggestion of one of their number, and met to consider the propriety of a ministerial conference on the subject of the corn-laws. The history of the convention which followed, is a chapter replete with interest and instruction in the annals of our times; and to have borne even the humblest part in its proceedings will be reckoned an honour, when all taxes on food are justly estimated by mankind. But the man who conceived and successfully developed the project—whose indefatigable and arduous labours were crowned with the consummation of his plan,—must have reaped a gratifying reward, when he witnessed the convention of seven hundred ministers, from all parts of the empire, to denounce the corn-laws; and in their sacred and benign character,



—in the presence of their God and before all men,—to protest against the cruelty which would tax the bread of the poor, either for national revenue or a landlord's rent; and the iniquity and presumption which would isolate nations from intercourse with each other in the fruits of God's earth, or the exchange of their several productions. The moral effect of this *conference* has continued to be felt; and its solemn denunciation of the impiety and ruthless selfishness which would restrict trade, diminish the market for labour, increase the price of food, and depreciate the wages of industry to aggrandize a small class of the people, sounded the knell of monopoly throughout the land. To the seven hundred and thirty who assembled, eight hundred more ministers were added, anxious to have their names recorded as approving of their object, and joining in their hostility to the obnoxious system. With few exceptions, these FIFTEEN HUNDRED servants of God were, by denomination, Dissenting ministers, who sympathized for their flocks, and in the fear of God allied themselves with the League. The week which was set apart in Manchester for this conference, and during which the most generous hospitality was exercised to the congregated strangers, proved the progress of the League, and authenticated their principles as consistent with God's word, and conducive to the highest interests of religion. A most valuable accession to the League was made in the name and personal influence of Earl Ducie, who attended the first session of the conference privately, but was ultimately so impressed with the moral and religious character of the question, that he publicly avowed his co-operation, and handsomely subscribed to aid in defraying the necessary expenses. When the ministers of religion returned to their homes and their flocks, the impulse was conveyed from Manchester to every district of the empire, and their people shared in the generous sympathies and enthusiasm which had been inspired by the counsels and proceedings of the conference.

Commercial experience, manufacturing industry, and mercantile intelligence—political philosophy and national patriotism—the highest morality and divine religion had now combined in a solemn league, and confederated their influence and resources not only to denounce, but also to destroy monopoly,—whether in its aggressions or in its strongholds. There remained, however, yet another element of social influence, powerful in its combinations—insinuating and soothing, though comparatively imperceptible, in its operations—tender in its most ardent sympathies, and generously benevolent in its choice of the objects of its compassion. Not always vested with facility and opportunity of utterance, but often most persuasive when under the constraints of silence, woman's power in society and in the

achievement of great and virtuous designs has not been measured, and cannot be resisted. But the chord was struck which vibrated to the inmost recesses of her soul, and a tone was given to her emotions which excited the highest aspirations of philanthropy, and the warmest solitudes for alleviating the wretchedness of suffering humanity. With admirable tact and appropriate adaptation of duty to claims, measures were taken to bring woman's tenderness and resources, her resistless energies, and captivating influences, into alliance with the League. The programme of the national anti-corn law bazaar was submitted, and the co-operation of the ladies, both in Manchester and throughout the country, was decorously and respectfully solicited. Never was court and suit more generously and honourably responded to, or in love and courtesy more graciously fulfilled. The theatre was filled not as a stage for feminine display, for *legerte*, or the flippant mimicry of human sorrow, or hypocritical pretensions to sympathising grief and pageant charity. The pliant spindle, the skilful needle, the palette and the brush, had been wisely and well employed in useful garments—in variegated embroidery—in imitation of the beautiful tints of nature—in the expressions and symbols of music, poetry, and eloquence. The magnificent display of female skill, perseverance, and taste, which adorned the gorgeous scene—which appealed to the sympathies, attracted the admiration, and secured in purchases the liberal contributions of visitors, demonstrated how spontaneously and cheerfully the ladies of Britain had embraced the cause of the League, and had joined in the prayer of cheap bread for the poor—for the equitable policy which would give just remuneration to industry, and the rightful value to the *capital* of the poor as well as of the rich—of the peasant as of the peer. The clear receipts, ten thousand pounds, from the bazaar to the funds of the League, were the smallest part of the ladies' contribution. They had given their names, their sympathies, their association and fellowship to the cause of the poor—they had consecrated woman's power, dignity, and rights on the altar of their country, in furtherance of the cause of commercial freedom, and for the abrogation of all taxes on the food of the poor. The preliminary publication of their intentions, their efforts, and alliances, through the press of the empire, proclaimed their confederacy with the League, and they encountered the contumely and ribald reproach of a hireling press, or of the more degenerate and ruthless champions of oppression and monopoly. Henceforward it was manifest to what cause the suffrage and the service of English women were consecrated; and how extensively the advocates of free trade and humanity might rely on female constancy and support.

The basis had been enlarged, but to secure a speedy triumph to the League, a yet broader foundation was required. Theirs was the cause of the people and the co-operation of the people must be secured. The abrogation of corn laws and other legalised monopolies, could only be peacefully obtained through the legislature; and the members of the senate, in many instances, blinded or perverted through selfishness or political predilections, could only be moved or instructed through their constituencies. The electoral suffrage appeared, therefore, the instrument which the League should immediately bring into tune, and harmonize with the dictates of sound philosophy, and the principles of free trade. But it must not be a collision of interests, a strife between agriculture and manufacture, between the spade and the loom. It must be rendered evident, that the cry of free trade arose from a sense of justice and reciprocal interest, from a conviction, that as all were now suffering under the operation of monopoly, and were participating in the baneful effects of the obnoxious principle in our social system, so all would share in the benefits accruing from the application of the antidote—that if one member rejoiced, all the members should rejoice with it; that if manufactures flourished, the agriculturist would prosper; and that the agricultural labourer could not continue prosperous unless the millions engaged in manufacturing industry, had employment at remunerative prices. The council of the League comprehended their position and their mission; and with stedfast purpose they resolved upon their course. They had funds, and they had the moral courage requisite for the enterprize. To shew that they desired to welcome and accommodate the masses of the people, and identify them as part of the League, the Free Trade Hall at Manchester was erected, not at the expense of foreign contributors, but from the resources of a local association; and its portals were thrown open to the assembling of many thousands at a time, of the operative classes. The spectacle of such a congregated host, enthusiastically united in the pursuit of one great national good, was magnificent and exhilarating. It inspired the leaders in their further course; gave impetus and continuousness to their more distant efforts, and served as a burning altar whence they might re-kindle their exhausted energies and flagging spirits. The qualification for membership was popularized. Reduced to a registration-shilling, it was accessible to the humblest mechanic; and made the rich and the poor meet together as brethren, and work as equal members of the same generous confederacy. They felt themselves placed in the presence of the nation, bearing a common standard, and fighting for their own father land. They became united, responsible and attached as a solemn league, covenanted



not to weaken or impede their separate or combined exertions, for the overthrow of giant monopoly. The League has never been divided or split into factions by quarrels, petty jealousies, or rival pretensions. Their adversaries have never been able to divide, and then to conquer them. They have no creed but *free trade*; and no weapon but the tongue, the pen, and the printing press; they have no means but the voluntary contributions of their supporters. Their numbers are as the waves of the sea; their union and force, as the undivided and swelling tide. But other means yet remain, to be sketched or alluded to, that the great moral and social lesson taught by the League, may be appreciated, and our purpose in presenting this survey may be fulfilled. In the progress of the agitation, qualified and willing agents were discovered and employed. The League never made a situation for a protégé, or created a place for a favourite. Yet, whenever they perceived an agent likely to be efficient, they secured his services. Their lecturers were increased in number; and by experience and collision, acquired greater adaptation for the places they filled. Nor was the office of lecturer suffered to degenerate into the drudgery of a menial, or the hackneyed homage of a hireling. Men of the greatest influence in the council, and who had attained the utmost eminence as politicians and statesmen, went forth in this enterprize; and counted it no disparagement to labour to dispel the darkness and obtuse ignorance of peasants; or answer the cavilling conceits of pert demagogues and adventurers. Richard Cobden, John Bright, Colonel Thompson, J. S. Buckingham, Arch. Prentice, R. R. Moore, and Henry Ashworth, T. Bazley, the Rev. T. Spencer, and others, have filled the lecturer's desk, and occupied the platform in debate against the advocates of corn laws. But another department gave scope for more deliberate and mature service; and was occupied most efficiently. The PRIZE ESSAYS, brief, pointed and pungent, for the instruction of farmers, and the popular diffusion of correct principles among the rural population, were well timed, and proved a judicious and beneficial effort. Besides the successful essayists, other pens were employed, 'Reuben,' and 'One who has whistled at the Plough,' sometimes in one character and sometimes in another, with other reporters for the League, and correspondents of the press, penetrated rural obscurity, and laid bare landlord oppression, and the subterfuges of monopoly. While material was thus furnished for the periodical press, or as a supply for tract distribution; the *electoral packets*, sent often by post, but more frequently conveyed by trustworthy messengers, diffused, where lecturers could not come, or meetings could not be convened, information and excited inquiry, which caused the monopolist to tremble, where he could ill-conceal

his chagrin, or counteract the agitation. Men have traversed the country quietly, from one county to another; their names not appearing, and their obscurity escaping suspicion, for months and longer; and whose only traces have been anti-corn law tracts, the awakening inquiries, the growing convictions, and the frank and well-considered avowal of free trade principles, when their utterance was least expected, among masses of the population in town and country; while the journals of such *Colporteurs* have conveyed to the council of the League, a full and intimate knowledge of the state of every district. They can tell when and where there is the probability of success in a vacant borough. They will soon also know the exact condition of the parliamentary registration, and upon what the issues of the controversy may depend. The first £50,000. were thus expended; the second great League fund of £100,000. will provide for the same warfare. The first sum was more than contributed and employed. The second and greater fund will also be raised and faithfully expended in the achievement of this great conquest.

Of the philosopher and the statesmen, this '*great fact*' demands special consideration, and we shall now proceed to give a further analysis of the *moral* agency, thus created and applied. The skill, efficiency, and extraordinary popular influence acquired by the leaders may make political partizans jealous, and awaken apprehensions in conservative minds. The League is composed of men, naturally as other men, fond of power, and subject to the temptation of becoming ambitious. They have evinced talents and aptitude for public business; and the popularity which they have acquired, may easily be rendered subservient to ulterior objects. Their occupation will not only train them for greater facility in the management of aggregate masses of their fellow men, but also for greater sympathy with a position and influence in public life. They are passing through a normal school, and have already proved themselves apt scholars. The system which they assail requires not merely familiarity with great and comprehensive principles, hostile to all monopolies alike, and the rigid application of those principles in matters affecting the *property* of the nation; but it also develops the operation of congenial evils, whether for illustration or to enforce the conclusions of their argument. They are led to associate *virtue* with the demolition of legalized and antiquated institutions. The disposition which would tolerate or conserve time-honoured associations and practices is supplanted by the more severe and judicial spirit of the reformer; who would overturn whatever might obstruct improvement or the amelioration of society. The men of the League mingle and sympathize with the middle classes, who having in many instances themselves passed

through the transition state, have few prejudices and predilections for the antique or the venerable. The corn laws are a grievance ; an enormous grievance, which is daily rendered more notorious and formidable. It is not consecrated by time or any endearing superstitions, farther than the hereditary reputation of the landlords ; while public writers of every class admit the bad odour in which the system is held, and none dare venture unreservedly to defend its legislation. Nobles and statesmen ascribe the continuance of such laws to the sordid avarice of our senate houses ; and among the middle classes a most diligent and impartial scrutiny would discover none but repealers of the corn laws. Yet in the esteem of the ardent advocates of repeal, the men, the legislation, and the laws which tend so manifestly to mar the prosperity of the nation, are identified with other monopolies, and especially such monopolies as are presumed to bias the minds of public or official characters who uphold, or tacitly sanction, the restrictions on commerce and food. The exertions of the League may yet realize, for the nation and the time, the overthrow of more things than of the corn-laws. It is neither a religious denomination, nor a party held together for political theories, and the interests of whig or tory. It contains churchmen and dissenters of every shade ; and is a combination of every class of politicians ; whig, tory, radical, complete and universal suffragists. But it is neither a church, nor a conservative association. The objects of the League may be found at the very antipodes of these denominations, and its advocates may learn some *inconvenient* lessons from a frequent resort to such quarters for the benefit so eagerly desired. Such considerations do not alarm us—but far-sighted and sagacious statesmen, and ecclesiastics, would do well for their own presumed interests, to consider this aspect and operation of the League. It has already been observed by a shrewd organ of no revolutionary party ; ‘Any more years spent in exhibiting the strength of agitation, and the weakness of authority, is eminently dangerous to the monarchy and the institutions of Great Britain. It is not the League which is half so dangerous as the foundations of the League. They rest upon the privations and sufferings of the nation—in the virtue and enthusiasm of a people, who never fixed their affections on any object without success. The Saxon character does not degenerate, and will be too much for the corn laws or the minister who palters to their maintenance.’ The question is started as to the *prospective* objects of the League—‘Does any one suppose, that if much longer resisted, they will confine themselves to *commercial* agitation ?’ We might respond—the League, as such, can not for an instant entertain any other object. But we cannot promise, that Friend Bright, who has



mainly annihilated church rates at Rochdale, and twenty others as decided in opinion as he, will cease their conflict with monopoly when the corn laws are entombed. The habits of the leaguers must, however, be remembered. They abjure a sole allegiance to professional chairs, or political lecturers. Quotations from M'Culloch and Ricardo, only serve to point their arguments. They have confidently approached the electoral bodies; Durham, London, Kendal, and Salisbury, have felt their sway. They propose, and virtually nominate; they are even said to dictate candidates to vacant boroughs. They have gained a point where their interference is considered not in the light of an impertinence, but as an obligation. The continuance of such an association for twelve months, may well alarm the apprehensions of partizan politicians, and such as have served as janizaries under the banner of the strongest. Power always employs itself; the power of the League must now increase with its progress; bad trade will strengthen its popularity, good trade will replenish its resources; and such power will necessarily contemplate other objects, and speculate on probable success.

The condition into which the League has brought the public mind of the present age, is no less a matter of deep interest and anxiety. It is not merely the influence which Messrs. Cobden, Bright, Wilson, and their colleagues are able to exert; but it is the popular appetite for such influence which they have created. Multitudes in every district meet for anti-corn law discussions, as if it were a business of personal interest. They assemble not to hear eloquence or stirring flights of oratory: the characteristics of the League speeches are matters of fact, solid argument, and most dispassionate discussion, with the usual accessory of monetary appeals. Merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers flock to such meetings, for the express purpose of appropriating their wealth to the cause, with as much alacrity as if it were but a profitable investment of their capital. The weekly revenue of the League, and the monthly receipts of its treasurer, possess more interest than does the quarter's revenue of the chancellor of the exchequer; and while from the odious income tax there is a small increase in the coffers of the latter, the annual amount of the former is doubled from the free-will offerings of the people; while the benefactions of absent, retired, and anonymous contributors, are poured in from every quarter. The peerage has sent its most honourable representatives to do homage to the League: the Hon. C. P. Villiers, Lords Kinnaird, Ducie, Radnor, Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and Westminster, count it no dishonour to be identified with this confederacy, and to contribute to its success. Thousands of the *elite*, the intelligence, the virtue, the enterprise and capital of our most pop-

ulous cities and boroughs mingle in the resolute and progressive course of the League. Scotland, with her hardy and instructed children—the metropolis equally with the provinces—the merchants as well as the manufacturers—traders as well as mechanics—the sire and the beardless youth—tender woman and laborious manhood,—are all moved and animated by its success, its achievements, and its aggregate assemblages. Farmers and farm-labourers, doubtfully and with hesitation, approach the scenes of discussion and combination: they linger at a distance, are charmed within the circle, and gradually their hostility is removed, their admiration is matured, and the convictions of their more enlightened judgment lead them to acquiescence in the justice and expediency of a final settlement of the disputed question. At length all classes are coming to acknowledge that it is by the measures which the League pursues, we may expect peacefully and wisely to effect national changes and improvements, and to remove other abuses as well as the corn-laws—other monopolies besides that in land or corn. The suffrage movement, as well as ecclesiastical controversy—freedom for conscience as well as for trade—the abolition of all encroachments on liberty, or the maintenance of the divine prerogatives, and the extension of a liberal and correct system of popular education, can only be secured by the confederacy and co-operation of their several advocates, on principles analogous to and sanctioned by the Anti-corn law League.

A little more, definitely and for a moment, it may be useful to exhibit an analysis of the present position of the League. Their influence upon the suffrages of the electoral body is not only a symptom of their power, but an efficient means to the attainment of their object. They have never entered on an electoral contest without *promoting* their cause. A defeat has been turned to account as well as a victory. Walsall lost, was of greater advantage than Walsall gained. Salisbury created a greater sympathy in all parts of the country, and more widely diffused their principles, though lost for a season, than did the success at Kendal. London was an unmixed triumph; and, as became the capital, sounded forth from the metropolis to the most distant province the energy, vigour, indomitable resolution, and the almost omnipotent resources of the League. Were it possible that the petitioning tories of Durham could for an hour unsettle Mr. Bright, and cause a new election, it may prove as another Cannæ for the knights and nobles of monopoly. The leaguers will rather contend among the Alps than luxuriate at Capua. They court the battle-field and hardy conflict, rather than a Fabian policy. Every electoral field, therefore, which opens to them will they occupy, and by every collision with monopoly

will they seek the victory of truth and free trade. But the electoral power will be proved in another direction. The expenditure of means upon the *collective* representation of the kingdom has been inadequately requited by the response which the house of commons has given to the petitions of three millions and a half against the corn-laws. The League will not unnecessarily squander their resources: they will reach their antagonists individually, and thin their ranks by processes in detail. Without a new election or a dissolution of the house, they have the power in numerous cases, and they are acquiring it in many more, to bring the member into an immediate consciousness of his responsibility to his constituents. A remonstrance may not be addressed to the house, because of its privilege; there is no such impunity for the individual representative; and the power of the League may be thus felt where it is least dreaded. Such significant admonitions will grow in efficacy as the septennial circle approaches completion, when they will not be found a mere *brutum fulmen*.

The position which the League occupy in relation to the diurnal, weekly, and periodical press, is another symbol of their character, and another element of their power. Seventy-four pages in the Quarterly, even for abuse, is no despicable compliment; the monthly diatribes of Blackwood; the dolorous and deprecatory tirades in ecclesiastical journals; the would-be witty and sneering pasquinades in the John Bull and the Britannia; the vituperation of the Standard, the Post, and of the haughty Times, are only evidences that they would fail, as organs of their party, if they did not chronicle the movements and measures, however hateful, of the League. They, as well as the liberal journals, must now, without fee or perquisite, report the banquets and grand musterings of the free traders, and by special messengers, expresses and correspondents, watch their proceedings at the canvass and election contests. The most exclusive and haughty of conservative journals must give currency to speeches and sentiments obnoxious to their party and injurious to their representatives in power.

It would be a delusion to imagine that the whole executive of the League is located or resident in Manchester. Not only has London its offices and meetings of the council, its centre of operation, and powers of action; but principal and influential members, whose counsels are received and whose co-operation is necessary for all great emergencies, are found at Leeds and Liverpool, at Birmingham and Bradford, at Derby and Doncaster, at Carlisle and Colchester, at Bristol and Bath, at Durham and Salisbury, at Southampton and Nottingham, in Scotland and Ireland—east, west, north, and south. Lancashire has been



most prolific in men and money, in action and demonstrations; but the League is no monopoly; wherever the work is done, or by whomsoever effected, the end of the association is answered. Manchester has contributed from within its own locality £20,000 during the last four months; Ashton upwards of £4000; Rochdale more than £3,000; Liverpool above £6,000; Oldham, Bury, Bolton, &c., in Lancashire £6,000 more. Yorkshire has already doubled its contributions; Scotland is coming up; and London will soon equal in its increase any other city. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire have generously reciprocated the liberal efforts; Northumberland will not fail in the noble enterprise; the parts of Cheshire, and the sea-ports of Durham will demonstrate the sympathy of all places and classes in the resolution to overturn the tax upon food. The assemblage of thousands in Glasgow and Edinburgh, in Dundee and Perth, in Greenock and Leith, in Paisley and Aberdeen, in the rural as well as manufacturing districts of Scotland, when pecuniary assistance is the object of solicitude, warrants the conclusion that the *money power* of the League is equal to any emergency which may arise; and gives assurance that banded as is the monopolist confederacy, there is certainly a prospect of its proximate and total overthrow, and the substitution of equal laws for the manufacturing capitalist and the industrious mechanic; for agricultural enterprise and peasant labour.

The *anti-league* movement projected and ostentatiously paraded, forms no discouraging ingredient, and threatens no serious delay to the triumph of free trade. The anti-corn law league could have desired no more auspicious omen; and can welcome no more acceptable associate and coadjutor than an *open* confederacy of advocates and promoters of discussion on the principles and claims of monopoly in food. Whatever will promote discussion and secure a full investigation of the principles involved in the controversy and develop their operation, must advance the progress of truth and hasten the satisfactory settlement of the claims advocated by the League. They are more than lovers of and inquirers after truth; they believe they have already established the justice of their principles, and ascertained that they are invulnerable to every assault. They will therefore hail as an accession the new-born association for the *protection of the home producer*. They will rather help than seek to prevent an inquiry into the *claims and burdens of land*; and the peculiar immunities, superior to those shared by the manufacturers, which the landholders should in justice and wisdom enjoy. These anti-League associations must, however, be very distinctly, *bona fide*, for the defence of the agriculturist, and not political alliances only, for Sir R. Peel's Government. The

suspicion that they are ministerial clubs and partisan stratagems to ensnare the farmers and secure a little prolonged support to the falling fortunes of the premier, will not do much damage to the League. The tariff has already awoken not a few of this class to the value of an income tax and the probity of the great statesman; and such a *ruse* will deceive but few. These associations, whether ministerial or not, must avoid direct antagonism with the League or any professed opposition to plain principles and common sense. If they begin to measure swords with the free-traders, and to pitch the battle in argument with the leaguers, they may find themselves in a wrong position and have to contend with fearful odds. The monopolists have never been very confident of the reasonableness or truth of their demands and their politics. They are inexperienced and unprepared for the controversy. Organization, resources, and the sympathy of the multitude, effect wonders in a great undertaking. Correspondents and articles in newspapers may be easily procured; meetings and fabrications may be prepared; but their auditory must be convened, and a *public* must be found who will read or believe their falsehoods and perversions. The organization and command of the country which the League has now acquired enables them to send, in one day, 5,000 communications to a borough in which a vacancy is expected; and in another day, 17,000 packets to a *county*, where a misrepresentation or an argument is to be refuted; and every recipient of these communications has been ascertained to be an elector or an influential member of the community. They have the General Post Office subject to their influence; whether in the metropolis or the provinces; whether to work a London election or expose a landlord's perversion of the truth. We do not think, therefore, the new protection clubs will otherwise influence the League than to increase its efficiency and augment its resources; to extend its power and hasten its triumph. The League is proof against all monopolist strategy; whether conducted by a Ferrand, a Baker, or a Chaplin.

The success which has attended the proceedings of this association augurs well for its final triumph; the speedy progress which in a few years it has attained, sanctions the most sanguine expectation of an early denouement to the struggle. We believe it is almost within the controul of the council whether to precipitate a crisis in the country in the session of 1844; to wait on the chapter of unforeseen coincidences during another year, or to effect a *coup d'état* after next summer's registration. The last would be the most politic, deliberate, and conclusive; and if the impatient eagerness of some more ardent spirits can be

restrained, and the existence of the Peel cabinet can be tolerated by the country so long, the tax on bread and restrictions on trade will be thus most effectually doomed and destroyed. The people will be prepared, the electoral community will be organized, and the leaguers will be better schooled and matured in the tactics of agitation, for other greater and more theoretic modifications of our national institutions. It is possible her Majesty's opposition, the loyal Whigs, may think this too long a delay; but the council of the League has never contended for a party, and does not *now* minister to nominal liberalism. Mohammed must come to the mountain. The fixed duty advocates have no alternative to the recreations enjoyed while 'out,' but in an abandonment of their half-way policy and an honest and hearty adoption of the whole doctrine of the Anti-corn-law League. Free trade in corn must become the Whig war-cry, otherwise they lose the enthusiastic sympathies of the people, so long their heir-loom and support, and the diminution of their party will grow daily more apparent and disheartening. Every convert to free trade will widen the chasm between them and place, and render less probable their continuance as a political power. Perhaps the discerning but obdurate adherents of the name may therefore make a desperate effort to overturn the Peel cabinet in the proximate session, and by assaults on the suicidal Irish policy of the ministry, in concurrence with some administrative crisis in Ireland, they may succeed in seizing the reins of government and suspending the more energetic and deliberate operations of the League. This is an evil more to be deprecated than dreaded; for the Whigs know their party is insufficient without the confidence of the free-traders; and their ascent to power, in hostility to the policy of the League, would not promise permanency in place or ability to govern the country, or eventually to suppress the supremacy of the principles avowed by the strongest section of reformers in the country. Should therefore an Irish accident or blunder terminate the sway of the present incapable and mischievous administration, it will be one of the triumphs of the anti-monopolists to prevent the mistakes of Lord John Russell and his adherents, in prescribing terms or imposing restrictions. We feel assured the council of the League cannot for a moment listen to the proposition of any policy less liberal than free trade in corn and an entire abrogation of all prohibitory or discriminating duties on any article of merchandise of foreign growth.

The leaders of this movement *have* acquired, not merely a sense of their power, but consummate skill in the direction and wielding of it. The teachers in this great school of agitation *have* taught themselves many valuable lessons. Unity of purpose,



unity of action, and singleness of object, with an entire absence of partisan subserviency, and a self-renunciation in pursuit of a public good, which is devoted in the extreme, are maxims not only recorded in their manual of ethics, but elements essential to their expectations of success. Their addresses to agriculturists have not been mere invectives against error, but arguments for conversion, conducted with more than cleverness and point, with logical precision and persuasive sincerity; so that the mischievous misrepresentations that the advocates of free trade were the enemies of the agricultural interest have been swept off from every ingenuous mind. Quackery has been denounced severely, but the idea of ill-will to the patient has been obliterated from the mind of the sufferer. We adopt in these assertions the concessions of the most classical, the most deliberate, and clear-sighted among the organs of the Whig party. And to the Whig aristocracy, were we of their counsels, we would deduce this lesson.—If you wish to rally a vital, healthy, and enduring party; if you wish to wear unsullied the distinctions of your class, and to be again powerful for the defence of constitutional liberty and popular freedom; if you desire to re-invigorate your baronial titles and influence; if you covet the leadership in the high places of the field, among the multitudes of generous hearts for the honour of the British crown, the safety of the throne, and the glory and prosperity of a faithful and rejoicing people, throw yourselves at once, promptly and frankly, without reserve and without conditions, into the advanced ranks of the free trade column. See how Lords Ducie and Kinnaird, young men: see how Earls Radnor and Fitzwilliam are venerated and beloved; see how Earl Spencer and the Marquis of Westminster have been embraced, and how their good deeds have been magnified. The success of the cause—as it may be identified with your honour—as it may be achieved through your instrumentality—be conducive to your more extended reputation—DEPENDS ON YOUR PROCEEDINGS DURING THE SESSION OF 1844. Let this be your *lustration*: immortalize your name; and by deeds worthy of high renown, evoke the prayer from acclaiming multitudes, '*esto perpetua.*'

We have one parting word for the leaders of another body, not yet a confederacy, or a League, or anything, much more adhesive than a rope of sand. The dissenters of England have numbers, resources, principles, and energy, which would suffice for the greatest emergency. Let them ponder the sketch we have presented, not only of the council, but of the operations of the League. They have here scope and verge enough for example and encouragement. We do not, and with our convictions we cannot, counsel them to refrain from co-operation, or by

dividing *action on the public mind*, to paralyze or diminish their own influence and progress. We would not even countenance any collateral or contemporaneous agitation, so as to distract attention from the claims of free trade, or to postpone the triumphs of the League. But we mark the obvious fact that, in the course of events, the sphere of operations occupied by this powerful confederacy is altogether removed from the channel in which ecclesiastical controversy must flow. There is, moreover, much preliminary discussion and arrangement, much preparation and subsoil ploughing, much subservient and unostentatious labour required before the dissenters can assume a position that will either relax the intense sympathy of the country with the League, or obstruct its onward and victorious movement. When dissenters are prepared wisely and vigorously to take the field, the free trade agitation will have achieved its conquest, and dissenting Leaguers will be released from all restraints to their zealous and efficient co-operation, for the repeal of all laws infringing the liberty of conscience, and taxing the bread of life, in the shape of church establishments or of national, and, therefore, unrighteous and unchristian endowment for any religious sects. The cause of the League is the cause of dissenters; the prosperity of the League promises free scope for dissenting principles; the triumph of the League will be the dawn of just religious equality and universal freedom. Let dissenters, therefore, co-operate with, and imitate the League. Let them advance its efficiency and follow its action, by becoming **A FREE CHURCH LEAGUE!**

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Art. VI. *A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. John Foster, late of Stapleton, near Bristol; preached at Broadmead, Bristol, Oct. 22, 1843, by Thos. S. Crisp.* London: Ward and Co.

It was said of the grandest intellectual change that ever passed upon the universal mind of man, that it came not with observation. To this great principle innumerable analogies are suggested by the ordinary experience of mankind. The gradual and silent character of the process, is ever proportionate to the depth, the universality, and the permanence of the result. Just thus the seasons change without a perceptible bounding line—the grand processes of nature elude observation, and

‘Waters that babble, on their way proclaim  
Their shallowness, while in their strength deep streams  
Flow silently.’

And thus it is with all operations of which that strange thing,

which we call mind, is the subject. The results of those processes, indeed, become manifest enough in altered conditions of the world itself. Power and subservience, influence and insignificance, whether seen in the great social body or in the individual character, are with all their indefinite consequences, but the efflorescence of seeds sown in secret, and grown in silence. To their slowness we may apply the illustration of Dr. South, drawn from the rapidity of the lightning: 'we cannot say it lightens, but only it has lightened.' Of all the sublimer operations of creative power, transient or permanent, we realize only the results and can only infer the process.

This, however, is especially true of those great changes which pass from time to time upon the mind of society. The law which revolutionizes individual character in an instant, is never brought to bear upon the social mind. The selected individual is made the sower, but the seed springs up while men sleep. Hence, perhaps, it is, that in all ages the renovators of their fellow-men have been but ill appreciated during their lives, and half-deified by idolatrous monuments, and still more idolatrous tradition, long after they have accomplished as hirelings, their day.

We doubt not, that this law will receive another corroborative example, in the case of that extraordinary man by whose lamented decease, the intellectual world has sustained a loss, of which it need not fear a repetition. Few distinguished men have been less known during the prime of their lives, than John Foster. The only obvious reason for this was, that cast of intellectual character and sentiment, which led him to prefer the closest seclusion; and, indeed, to immure himself in an almost monastic retirement. It will be our business hereafter, to adduce some other causes why, one of the most singular and powerful minds that have illustrated the present age, was distinguished by so little of that popular notoriety, which attaches to the ordinary class of conventionally great men.

The faculties first developed in the individual, and in the social mind, are those which are strictly *perceptive*. Thus the acquisition of facts, precedes the formation of theories and laws. Hence, too, the mechanical arts will flourish, in those ages which precede the daylight of philosophy. So, also, the first efforts of the philosophic spirit, have regard to the phenomena of nature, and the uses with which they are pregnant to the service of man. And even the efforts of fancy which are earliest developed in the social, as in the individual mind, are found to have a chief reference to the material sublime, and to the sentimental delineation of the great and the beautiful in external nature; while the delineation of the intrinsic, and the mental, is left to the



more adult ages of the world. Thus, while Herodotus prattles, and Homer paints, and both with a wild and tender charm which has never been surpassed; it has been left to far later writers to stir the depths of human feeling, to paint the pictures of many-coloured life; and thus, while exhausting worlds in observation, to develope analogous creations in fancy.

To such classifications of natural objects, and to such fanciful delineations of them, succeeded in the course of ages, that philosophy which was to combine them under laws. Yet, even these laws, partook of the infantile character of the social mind. There was in the scholastic systems which swayed the intellectual world until a comparatively recent date, a natural, and almost a necessary childishness. Induction and generalization, were comparatively unknown; pre-conception and fancy, supplied the place of experience, and of the only true philosophy. It was for our own immortal countryman, Lord Bacon, to supersede these vague and groping systems of false philosophy, by enacting, almost with the authority of law, the only true system of attaining to universal truth. Yet, even Bacon, though he might seem to have been raised and appointed to trim the lamps of universal science, shared the fate of those prophets, who, disregarded in their own country and in their own time, were destined to receive their meed of veneration in those distant days, when popular experience had established the truths they taught. The new philosophical instrument, however, which Lord Bacon had invented, though certainly of universal application, was for ages chiefly employed either in purely physical investigation, or in such enquiries in intellectual science, as terminated almost entirely on simple classification.

To these naturally succeeded, more practical enquiries into the principles of moral science. And perhaps nothing can indicate more unequivocally, the absence of deep and steady thinking upon the moral constitution and duties of man, than the strangely abortive and contradictory systems of opinion, which then gained, and still retain the sway among the students of ethics. One holds, that all is for the best, and that individual actions are comparatively indifferent. A second holds, that actions universally regarded as immoral, are innocent if performed in secrecy, so that no pain may accrue to individuals, and no inconvenience to society at large. A third maintains, that the moral character of all human conduct is dependent on the expediency, or in expediency of such conduct, if generally pursued. While a fourth lays down the precepts of scripture as the sole rule of morals to all mankind; — *'et ad huc sub judice lis est.'*

We may well adopt the characteristic language of the author, whose genius and writings are now under consideration, while

sitting in imagination among the stores of literature he had collected around him. 'Within these assembled volumes, how many errors in doctrine may there not be maintained—how many bad practical principles palliated, justified, or displayed in seductive exemplification—how many good ones endeavoured to be supplanted—how many absurdities and vain fancies set forth as plausible. Is it not as if the intellect of man had been surrendered to be the sport of some malicious and powerful agent, who could delight in playing it through all traverses, freaks, and mazes of fantastic movement—mocking at its self-importance, diverted at its follies, gratified most of all when it is perverted to the greatest mischief and malignity, and providing for the perpetuation of the effect of all this through subsequent time, by instigating the ablest of the minds thus sported with, to keep their own perversions in operation on posterity through the instrumentality of their books? If such a thing might be as the intervention of the agency of a better and more potent intelligence, to cause, by one instantaneous action on all these books, the obliteration of all that is fallacious, pernicious, or useless in them, what millions of pages would be blanched in our crowded libraries!'

It has been reserved for a still later age to advance beyond all these investigations, and to treat, as the highest of all subjects, on the cultivation of the intellect itself. Mankind had long been taught to do everything but to think, and the incalculable differences of opinion which have obtained in the world—the rise and fall of scholastic systems—the jargon of disputants—and the triumph of error by immense numerical majorities,—all these have been dependant on the absence of that grandest and yet simplest of arts, the art of thinking. This may indeed be designated with far deeper truth, and far stronger emphasis, than Bacon himself intended, the *PRIMA PHILOSOPHIA*. The system which the great inductive philosopher vaguely foreshadowed to himself under this imposing name, was only one which should combine all sciences under certain great and comprehensive analogies: but that of which we speak is one which should qualify the mind to perceive those analogies, and to bring all subjects to the final test of certain elemental principles.

Of this last class of intellectual and moral philosophers, in the most emphatic sense of those terms, John Foster may be regarded as the modern, if not the only leader. He has fulfilled for the class of thinkers the same high functions which Lord Bacon performed with relation to philosophers, and which Bentham, and perhaps Macintosh, performed with respect to jurists and political reasoners. Beneath the veil of a most elaborate and yet transparent tissue of style, the workings of a mighty

mind on the most abstract and elemental subjects are seen in the writings of Mr. Foster. Indeed, throughout his works, he indicates the right employment of reason, not so much by precept as by example—the very soul of the writer is seen beneath his majestic style, labouring in processes to which the fabled Vulcan forging in volcanic depths the thunderbolts of Jove, supplies but a meagre and vulgar illustration. Had the conceptions of Shakspeare been ostensibly philosophical, instead of being essentially imaginative, and philosophical only by inference, they might, in our opinion, have been ranked in the same category with those purely intellectual creations of John Foster, in which perfect originality contends for our admiration with the deepest wisdom and the most enchanting fancy.

It has been common with those who are only qualified to derive their opinions from personal observation, and who are unaccustomed both to generalize and to reflect, to condemn all those abstract principles which, from their very abstractness and consequent comprehensiveness, admit of universal application, under the conveniently opprobrious designation of theory,—little thinking, meanwhile, that what they are despising is only, in point of fact, the essential principle of truth expressed from the mass of common experience. In this ignorant and short-sighted notion is, perhaps, involved the true cause of nine-tenths of the errors abroad in society. The diversities of individual experience are obviously infinite, and error is correspondingly infinite, when no higher standard than individual experience is referred to. But truth is one and uniform, and that oneness and uniformity can only be derived from that which comprehends all the diversities of personal experience, which harmonizes their varieties, and condenses a result which, under the despised name of theory, becomes the essence and the element of universal truth. The tendency of the writings of Mr. Foster is to the elaboration of this element—not to improve the machinery of logic, but rather to supply a *primum mobile* to the entire mechanism of mind, which may lead it to the attainment of the grandest purposes to which it is destined alike by its intrinsic powers and by the irreversible will of its Creator.

If those who have wrought more obviously practical changes on the popular mind have attracted comparatively little attention during the labours of a life, it need scarcely be matter of wonder that one who, like John Foster, thought and wrote for futurity, should be anything but the idol of his day. None but minds of a somewhat high intellectual order would even relish, to say nothing of appreciating, such writings as his. While the erroneous notion generally entertained, and which he set himself to rebuke and put down, would necessarily array against



him the prejudices of the great majority of society. For example, he commenced his career in times when a bold opposition to things, as they are, was regarded as little less than criminal. Yet there was scarcely one of the cardinal arrangements of society then existing, which was not either battered by his arguments or lashed by his satire. Again: he lived in an age when popular education was only commencing—when that cause was obnoxious alike to the pride, the fears, and the ignorant selfishness of the age. Of that now all-absorbing subject, he may be regarded as almost the originator. Since in his extraordinary essay on Popular Ignorance, he was probably the first to lay bare the whole extent of the evil—to point out its ramifications of mischief, striking into every vital interest of man—boldly developing its necessity solely for the purposes of political and spiritual despotism—and tearing away the grave and sanctimonious mask of self-styled wisdom and prudence, by which the baseness of rulers was concealed, and through which the destruction of the people was perpetuated.

At the period referred to, nonconformity was almost universally despised. Its adherents were commonly regarded as divided between infidels and fanatics. The established church, popularly regarded as sacred throughout, and inviolable, even to its most insignificant corruptions, was deemed the sole depository of Christian truth in the world. To reverence and obey its priests was thought to be a sort of third table of the law. While to hold any thing like communion or even sympathy with the dissenters was deemed sufficient to unchristianize any man, or at least to constitute him ceremonially unclean, and to consign him to the limbo of the 'uncovenanted mercies.'

We must not be understood as intimating that this is altogether matter of history in the present day. We find not a few surviving representatives of this regime, though chiefly to be found at the two extremes of the ecclesiastical scale; plethoric bishops and pluralists at the top, and very ignorant and hair-brained curates at the bottom—the former a class that cannot afford to think, and the latter one whose responsibilities nature has mercifully abridged by denying them the power. It is just possible that Voltaire had the church of England immediately in view when he characterized our nation as resembling their own porter butts, froth at top—dregs at bottom—in the middle (by French courtesy) excellent. In order to arrive at a just estimate of the state of things which prevailed when Mr. Foster and others had to lead the battle of dissent, the reader must imagine the middle class to which we have alluded, and which is of subsequent growth, annihilated, and the two extreme classes occupying the whole extent of the clerical body.

Perhaps, since the days of John Milton there has not lived a more uncompromising nonconformist than John Foster. In his writings he never neglected a suitable opportunity of advocating the rights of conscience ; and of scattering in the minds of his readers those philosophic principles by the light of which the whole system of ecclesiastical coercion—the very theory of establishing any doctrines or opinions by legislative authority, would be seen to be as utterly absurd as any superstition that ever seized upon the minds of the most uncultivated tribes of men. The more religious aspects of this question were, in his just estimation, far too grave and solemn for the application of ridicule ; but those who were privileged to enjoy the society of Mr. Foster will not readily forget the perfect tempest of scornful satire with which he would sometimes assail the secular inconsistencies and corruptions of the hierarchy, or such absurdities of ecclesiastical doctrine or practice as were too gross for such a mind as his to condescend to discuss.

To complete the climax of his fanatical opposition to things as they were, he was one of the most devoted advocates of Christian missions. At the time when this mighty enterprise was popularly looked upon as the ephemeral crotchet of a few well meaning but ignorant persons, Mr. Foster threw into it all the force of his genius, and defended it with all the ardour and power of his eloquence. His celebrated missionary sermon is certainly the most complete and noble defence of the missionary cause which ever has been, and probably which ever will be produced. It need scarcely be said that the prosecution of such a course required a high degree of moral courage, and this formed a distinguishing feature in the mind of John Foster. It seemed to be combined of an instructive reverence for principle, an inalienable and dignified self-respect, and a moral temperament and character in which the fear of man could no more subsist than snow-flakes in the summer of the tropics.

It cannot but be regarded as matter of deep regret that Mr. Foster has left behind him an amount of contribution comparatively so small to the literature of his country. For this fact, however it may be lamented, it is not difficult to account. The chief reason for it undoubtedly is, that Mr. Foster was not so much a writer as a thinker, and that his comparatively brief published writings contain the profoundest thought of many years in the most condensed form. The French critic says : '*Montesquieu abrege tout parcequ'il voit tout.*' The same may be said of Foster. His profound and comprehensive reflection had eliminated from every subject all superfluous accessories—had stripped, as if anatomically, every subject with which he dealt to naked and primitive essence ; and he consequently presented

its results, as our most elaborate chemists produce theirs, in a form at once the most condensed, the most delicate, and the most powerful. A further reason which perhaps may be adduced for the comparative scantiness of Mr. Foster's literary productions may be found in that singular habit of deep reflection, and sometimes of merely imaginative musing, which was strikingly characteristic of his mental tendencies. The very act of composition served to call him off from the natural business of his life. Not that he was a man of inactive mind;—on the contrary, his very repose was in intellectual exertion;—but that he was more disposed to seek the cultivation of his own vast faculties for the highest of purposes than to develope each successive attainment for the uses of others.

A still further reason, however, had probably more to do with the paucity of his writings than either of those which have been referred to—this was the almost morbid sensitiveness of his critical taste. The writer of these pages was once told by Mr. Foster himself, that on some occasions he has expended as much as half an hour in constructing a single sentence; and that he has sat for an equal space of time in close meditation without writing a word. Indeed he is grieved to know, that in several instances he has, under the impulse of the same delicate fastidiousness, destroyed many of those productions which, had they been published, would certainly have met with but one exception to universal admiration. His perception of the nicest proprieties of style was one of his most singular peculiarities. We have frequently heard him analyse some of the most beautiful passages from the writings of those in admiration of whom he yielded to none, and detect, without the slightest tinge of ungenerous feeling, a number of inaccuracies, faults of style, and even merely verbal inconsistencies, which nothing but the most practised ingenuity could discover. In one of the recent editions of his great work—the four essays—he made, no doubt at the cost of immense labour, no fewer than from one to two thousand emendations. And it was a high treat to those of his friends who were qualified to enjoy it, to draw from him that profoundly analytical criticism which justified the alterations. We have heard men of great literary taste express their regret at these amendments, as if the polishing chisel of the sculptor had destroyed the boldness of the design, or as if the last flattering touches of the portrait painter had irretrievably sacrificed the likeness. But perhaps such objections are only dependent on the jealousy of that first love with which such critics have been enamoured of their author; and he may possibly fall back with confidence upon the maxim of the great critic of antiquity:

*‘Hæc placuit semel; hæc decies repetita placebit.’*



While, however, owing to such causes the productions of Mr. Foster's pen, whether already possessed or in anticipation, fall far below the desires of the public, enough has been left to place him in the highest rank of intellectual men, and to form, one would hope, a permanent class of congenial minds. His first and perhaps his greatest work, certainly that by which he is most known to the public, was his four essays.

It is the less necessary to enter upon any extensive criticism of these productions, inasmuch as they have not only already taken that permanent place in the estimation of the public which no observation of ours could establish, and from which we are equally confident it could never be dislodged; but, as a further and stronger reason for our passing over these compositions with a very general notice, we may add that on their first appearance they formed the subject of one of the most elaborate criticisms that ever appeared in this Review from the pen of the late Robert Hall. It is impossible to peruse without the deepest interest the observations of such a mind as Mr. Hall's on such a work as the *Essays*, especially when, as in this case, from their early appearance, they bear almost the character of prediction. It is, we say, most interesting to observe the lofty intellect of the critic pointing as from an eminence the destined course of universal opinion and estimation, auguring the tendencies of the intellectual world, and casting, as it were, the horoscope of that work which was destined so essentially to affect it. Yet even the eloquent panegyrics of Mr. Hall hardly seem to us to indicate any adequate conception of the effects which the work before him was destined to produce. We find him prognosticating that Mr. Foster's compositions would 'procure their author a brilliant and lasting reputation;' but the critic was probably hardly prepared to anticipate that many of the rising race of intellectual men would hereafter attribute to those compositions the highest of their purely mental attainments.

We fully concur with Mr. Hall in regarding the last of the *Essays* 'as by far the most valuable and elaborate.' It is indeed difficult, or rather impossible, to calculate the amount of influence it has exercised on religious society at large, and especially on the christian community. Probably, however, its uses have as yet only commenced, and will never end but with the imperfections of our common nature. So long as human passion and human weakness shall pertain to those whose office it is to disclose the highest of truths, this profound production will constitute a mirror in which they will see, and by which perchance they will correct, the infirmities which prejudice the success of their vocation. In the strictures which it contains upon the Christian pulpit as it was in that day, and as unhappily

it is in a great measure still, we have chiefly to admire the singular combination which the author exhibits of profound wisdom and perfect taste; but every reader has probably stood for a moment amazed at the boldness with which he has assailed the idols of popular literature whether ancient or modern. He seems to be emboldened by a sort of sacred fidelity to truth, as, rising with the greatness of the occasion, he despoils a covert principle of immorality of all the armour of logic and all the trappings of style with which it is disguised, and with a touch unlike that of Ithuriel, dwarfs the majestic spirit of error to the insignificant dimensions of the toad. To disabuse the public mind of prejudices so long and so fondly entertained, indicates a moral courage that is the fit associate of the highest intellectual power.

We cannot so readily acquiesce in another of Mr. Hall's criticisms, which assigns to the essay on decision of character a higher degree of excellence than belongs to that 'On a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself.' Even granting a higher degree of practical value as attaching to the former composition, we cannot but feel some degree of surprise at such a comparison as the following in its favour:—'The subject is pursued with greater regularity, the conceptions are more profound, and the style is more chaste and classical.'

The greater degree of regularity here noticed, is probably more dependent upon the nature of the subjects pursued, than upon any other cause. The essay on decision of character is a rigid and profound investigation, mapped out into the ordinary rhetorical divisions, and is developed with all the methodical caution which is essential to the usefulness of a moral dissertation. The other, on the contrary, partakes less of the nature of investigation than of reverie. The very subject is of a far more original kind, and the method of treating it partakes so much of that character, as to render it one of the greatest curiosities of modern literature. The author seems to be not so much reasoning and arranging as thinking aloud. As a composition it gives the impression of a lofty intellect in repose, or, at most, lawlessly following out its own sublime suggestions, rather than engaged in a performance which should compel attention, and defy criticism.

Still less can we concur in the next reference of Mr. Hall. In perfect originality and profundity of conception, we should regard the first essay as the most characteristic and the most extraordinary of all Mr. Foster's productions. It rather reminds us of an ingenious defence which he once made to the writer of some productions of Coleridge, in which it was objected, that he failed to convey to the reader anything like an accurate concep-

tion of his meaning. Mr. Foster urged in reply, that it was quite possible to think without the mental use of language at all; that there was especially a certain order of subjects to which language, progressively constructed as it is to meet those demands of mankind which are chiefly of a social and commercial nature, was most imperfectly adapted; and that the fault in the case of Coleridge lay less in his want of perspicuity than in that mental habitude by which he was led to certain topics even as the theme of didactic composition, of which the ordinary language of society was a very inappropriate vehicle.

No such want of perspicuity attaches to any of the writings of Mr. Foster as that which he thus ingeniously sought to account for. Yet we cannot but think that in so far as such a charge can be brought, of course in a very mitigated form, against the style of the first essay, it may be refuted on somewhat similar grounds. It is characterized by a redundant fulness of thought, which, in the struggle to develope itself, taxes the resources of the English language, and seems to strain the capacity of ordinary sentences. Indeed, Mr. Hall himself appears to have been fully aware of this grand peculiarity, for in the closing, and by far the most beautiful part of his critique, he makes the following observations:—‘An occasional obscurity pervades some parts of the work. The mind of the writer seems at times to struggle with conceptions too mighty for his grasp, and to present confused masses rather than distinct delineations of thought. This, however, is to be imputed to the originality, not the weakness of his powers. The scale on which he thinks is so vast, and the excursions of his imagination are so extended, that they frequently carry him into the most unbeaten track, and among objects where a ray of light glances in an angle only, without diffusing itself over the whole. On ordinary topics his conceptions are luminous in the highest degree. He places the idea which he wishes to present in such a flood of light, that it is not merely visible itself, but it seems to illumine all around it.’

It appears to us sufficiently evident that Mr. Hall, in the above observations, had the first essay most prominent in his view. Yet with great deference to one of the ablest of critics as well as the most beautiful of writers, we should say that no single composition of our great essayist indicates so singular a power to compel language into subserviency to an original mind, as that *On a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself*. A comparison of this, as of all the other productions of the same mind, with those of one or two modern writers, distinguished by somewhat similar intellectual tendencies, will, we think, make this evident to every reflective student of their respective writings. We will instance Coleridge, Carlyle, and Emerson, as three authors, who are led



by a profoundly reflective habit of mind to shun the extrinsic, the pseudo-practical, and almost statistical style of thinking and writing, which prevails in these utilitarian days, and to develope the abstruse, to dive beneath the surface of mere interests, and to inspect and explain that hidden mechanism of the moral and intellectual nature, whether individual or social, of which all that is exterior is the result. It is by no means surprising that such men should have been conducted as if by their tutelary genius to the regions of German philosophy. But this fact surely ought not to be taught us by their style. That independence of mind which is analogous to the sentiment of patriotism, not to say of nationality in the social system, would, one should think, have preserved the integrity of the English style amidst the commerce of foreign styles and theories; would have compelled the latter to be naturalized before they mingled in the British republic of letters; or, if we may so change the allusion, to pay a duty, and to be stamped with our own character before they crossed the literary frontier. The reverse of this is, however, the case. We find in the language of the writers referred to an unequivocal brogue, and that, too, in some cases, rather affected than involuntary, which tells us among whom they have resided, and indicates their own seducible imitativeness. Not unfrequently, too, they shew us that they are professed imitators, and, like all that numerous class, they chiefly succeed in copying the defects of the original. They seem to delight in haziness and obscurity for their own sake; they seem to have schooled themselves into a pretended preference for the murky atmosphere and the rugged precipitous soil of the Borean regions; and, perhaps, like Jeremy Bentham, would be best read through an English translation of a French translation of their writings.

We need hardly say that in depth and originality of thought the writings of John Foster will not lose by a comparison with those to which we have referred; but in the natural and unaffected gracefulness of his style, he is incomparably their superior. Elaborate, indeed, he is, and that to the last degree, but his is the art which conceals itself, and deceives by its perfect similarity to nature. He is never on stilts. We believe that there is not a single passage in his published writings, even the most sublimely eloquent, which can be stigmatized as bombastic. And if the young England, who are enamoured of our Germanised word-mongers, justify their predilections on the ground that their pet writers are bringing back our language to its primitive simplicity, we can only say that we are foolish enough to prefer the mansions of opulent refinement to the huts of our ancestors, the diction of Milton and Shakspeare, to that of

Chaucer, and the taste which cherishes Claude and Rembrandt, to that more eccentric passion for the fine arts, which was exhibited in the stained faces and the painted thighs of the ancient Britons. We do not wish to see more pure or more powerful English than that which this illustrious and unaffected writer has selected as the appropriate vehicle of his sublime conceptions.

If, however, any doubt should be entertained on this point, it may be solved by a very simple experiment. Let the critic take some sentence which may seem at first sight overcharged and plethoric. Let him take it to pieces, and seek to reconstruct with a view to greater simplification and brevity, but at the same time under the condition of not losing so much as a hint of thought. We have tried the experiment ourselves, and we are persuaded that in most cases it will utterly fail. We believe that some of the most questionable of these sentences will be found on a severe analysis to exhibit something like the perfection of rhetorical ingenuity; and that if in such an analysis the moulds of the exquisite composition could be lost, it would be almost as difficult to reconstruct the passage as it would be to recover the precise combination of form and colour in the kaleidoscope which had been lost by an accidental jar of the instrument.

We will cite a single passage in illustration of this remark. And while the limits to which we must confine ourselves forbid our entering into anything like a commentative analysis of it, we would invite a close attention to it, and especially to the final sentences. It appears to us a favourable instance of that masterly and elaborate tact, by which a somewhat recondite idea is best developed in sentences, which may seem at first sight too much thronged with clauses and epithets to be recommended as a model of style.

\* Here a person† of your age might pause, and look back with great interest on the world of circumstances through which life has been drawn. Consider what thousands of situations, appearances, incidents, persons, you have been present with, each in his time. The review would carry you over something like a chaos, with all the moral, and all other elements confounded together; and you may reflect till you begin almost to wonder how an individual retains the same essence through all the diversities, vicissitudes, and counteractions of influence, that operate on it during his progress through the confusion. While the essential being might, however, defy the universe to extinguish, absorb, or transmute it, you will find it has come out with dispositions and habits which will shew where it has been, and what it has undergone. You may descry

\* Essay on a Man's writing *Memoirs of Himself*:—13th edit. pp. 23, 24.

† It is not, perhaps, generally known that these essays were written in a series of letters to the lady who shortly afterwards became the wife of the author.

on it the marks and colours of many of the things by which it has, in passing, been touched or arrested.

‘Consider the number of meetings with acquaintance, friends, or strangers; the number of conversations you have held or heard; the number of exhibitions of good or evil, virtue or vice; the number of occasions on which you have been disgusted or pleased, moved to admiration or to abhorrence; the number of times that you have contemplated the town, the rural cottage, or verdant fields; the number of volumes you have read; the times that you have looked over the present state of the world, or gone, by means of history, into past ages; the number of comparisons of yourself with other persons, alive or dead, and comparisons of them with one-another; the number of solitary musings, of solemn contemplations of night, of the successive subjects of thought, and of animated sentiments that have been kindled and extinguished. Add all the hours and causes of sorrow which you have known. Through this lengthened, and, if the numbers could be told, stupendous multiplicity of things you have advanced, while all their heterogeneous myriads have darted influences upon you, each one of them having some definable tendency. A traveller round the globe would not meet a greater variety of seasons, prospects, and winds, than you might have recorded of the circumstances capable of affecting your character during your journey of life. You could not wish to have drawn to yourself the agency of a vaster diversity of causes; you could not wish, on the supposition that you had gained advantage from all these, to wear the spoils of a greater number of regions. The formation of the character from so many materials, reminds one of that mighty appropriating attraction, which, on the fanciful hypothesis that the resurrection should re-assemble the same particles which composed the body before, must draw them from dust, and trees, and animals, from ocean and winds.’

While we thus attempt to do honour to the exalted genius displayed in the first essay, we are quite disposed to admit that the tendency of the second, on Decision of Character, is more immediately practical, and exhibits almost the same profundity of thought and striking beauty of illustration. There are not a few, and some perhaps who may read these remarks, who owe to this singular production some of the most capital advantages which they have derived, either from didactic literature, or indeed from any other source. If the library may be truly designated, as by the Egyptians of old, the *ψυχῆς ἰατρῆιον* this essay may fairly be esteemed as one of the finest tonics in the moral pharmacopœia. Indeed, we can hardly conceive of a mind so infirm of purpose, so stagnant in irresolution, as not to be nerved and stimulated by the perusal of this extraordinary essay. It throws such withering scorn upon the feebleness of those minds which passively suspend themselves on the notions and the examples of others, as to make it evident that the writer himself could have had no part in so bitter a condemnation. This was strictly true; and if it is the prerogative of genius to represent itself,



the great essayist in this production has largely availed himself of his privilege. Few men, perhaps, have ever been more remarkable than he for that independence and decision of mind which he so nobly extols; few men who justify their tenacity of opinion by such various knowledge and such deep reflection, and few on whom the force of fashion and popular fallacy was so utterly lost.

On the whole, however, if we were called upon to name that production of Mr. Foster to which we should ascribe the highest and most permanent value, we should certainly fix upon the last, 'On the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion.' The peculiarity which Paul states in one of his epistles with reference to the christian religion as existing in his day, that not many of the wise and the noble were drawn to it, prevails to a fully proportionate degree in our own times, insomuch that popular refinement might seem under certain circumstances to be as effectual a bar to the progress of true religion as popular demoralization and barbarism. It was an effort alike worthy of the genius and the piety of Mr. Foster, to develop the most hidden causes of this melancholy phenomenon, whether existing in the church or in the world, and to expose and rebuke them in both with the most dignified but unsparing severity. We agree with Mr. Hall, that he seems to have expended the whole force of his genius on this exquisite production; indeed it is difficult to determine whether his profound knowledge of human nature, from its most elegant tastes to its lowest passions and its saddest depravities, is more to be admired than his comprehensive knowledge of literature, and that sensibility to the foibles and faults of religious parties, which was so far above the influence of sectarian prejudice. The boldness with which he dethrones the long-worshipped idols of the intellectual aristocracy, is scarcely less admirable than the incorruptible rationality, if we may be allowed such a phrase, with which he rebukes that phraseology and imagery which has been consecrated in the veneration of the vulgar, through their adoption by men whose ordinary good sense ought to have imposed sterner laws on their religious sensibilities. Many of these strictures necessarily refer to the grosser defects of the christian pulpit. And here so deep is the truth of his observations, that they not only find ample illustrations in preceding times, but might seem to have been almost prophetic of certain preachers who have risen to notoriety since the date of their publication. We will adduce in illustration one train of remarks which might well be mistaken for a portrait, the original of which the reader will not long have to look for among the divines of Scotland and of the English metropolis.

'There is a smaller class that might be called mock eloquent writers. These saw the effect of brilliant expression in those works of eloquence and poetry where it was dictated and animated by energy of thought; and very reasonably wished that Christian sentiments might assume a language as impressive as any subject had ever employed to fascinate or command. But unfortunately they forgot that eloquence resides essentially in the thought, and that no words can make genuine eloquence of that which would not be such in the plainest that could fully express the sense. Or probably they were quite confident of the excellence of the thoughts that were demanding to be so finely sounded forth. Perhaps they concluded them to be vigorous and sublime from the very circumstance that they disdained to show themselves in plain language. The writers would be but little inclined to suspect of poverty or feebleness the thoughts which seemed so naturally to be assuming in their minds and on their page such a magnificent style. A gaudy verbosity is always eloquence in the opinion of him that writes it; but what is the effect on the reader? Real eloquence strikes with immediate force, and leaves not the possibility of asking or thinking whether it *be* eloquence; but the sounding sentences of these writers leave you cool enough to examine with doubtful curiosity a language that seems threatening to move or astonish you, without actually doing so. It is something like the case of a false alarm of thunder, where a sober man, who is not apt to startle at sounds, looks out to see whether it be not the rumbling of a cart. Very much at your ease you contrast the pomp of the expression with the quality of the thoughts; and then read on for amusement, or cease to read from disgust.

'A principal device in the fabrication of this style is to multiply epithets, dry epithets, laid on the surface, and into which no vitality of the sentiment is found to circulate. You may take a number of the words out of each page, and find that the sense is neither more nor less for your having cleared the composition of these epithets of chalk of various colours with which the tame thoughts had submitted to be dappled and made fine.'

Some readers will perhaps be reminded by these passages of Dr. Chalmers with his 'vista of a succession' (not referring to his own verbiage) 'which ever flows without stop and without termination\*.' If, however, Mr. Foster's observations may be regarded as prophetic, they might seem to have more direct reference to certain feeble imitators of the Scotch orator. Mr. Melville and Mr. Montgomery, (not the poet, but the author of 'Woman' and 'Satan,') for example, with a little fraternal fry scattered throughout other denominations *quos fama obscura recondit*. Let Mr. Melville be their exponent, and let the reader say if great praise is not due to our author for his warning. 'Death came against the Mediator: but, in submitting to it, Christ, if we may use such image, seized on the destroyer, and, *waving his skeleton form as a sceptre over his creation*, broke

\* Chalmers's Astronomical Discourses, p. 158.

the spell of a thousand generations, dashing away the chains, and opening the graves of an oppressed and rifled population\*.' Or let us take the following: 'He went down to the grave in the weakness of humanity, but at the same time, in the might of the Deity. And, designing to pour forth a torrent of lustre on the life, the everlasting life of man, *oh! he did not bid the firmament cleave asunder, and the constellations of eternity shine out in their majesties, and dazzle and blind an overawed creation.* He rose up, a moral giant, from his grave-clothes, and proving death, vanquished in his stronghold, left the vacant sepulchre as a centre of light to the dwellers on this planet. *He took not the suns and systems which crowd immensity in order to form one brilliant cataract, which, rushing down in its glories, might sweep away darkness from the benighted race of the apostate.* But he came forth from the tomb masterful and victorious; and the place where he had lain became the focus of the rays of the long-hidden truth; and *the fragments of his grave stone were the stars from which flashed the immortality of man†.*'

It will be as little difficult to detect again in the following sketch a class of religionists, now, we hope, gradually decreasing, and situated at the very opposite poles of orthodoxy. The closing sentence will probably remind every reader of a certain well known preacher generally, and perhaps appropriately, designated under a nickname, who has recently been removed from this world.

'Under the denomination of mock eloquence may also be placed the mode of writing which endeavours to move the passions not by presenting striking ideas of the object of passion, but by the appearance of an emphatical enunciation of the writer's own feelings concerning it. You are not made to perceive how the thing itself has the most interesting claims on your heart; but are required to be affected in mere sympathy with the author who attempts your feelings by frequent exclamations, and perhaps by an incessant application to his fellow-mortals, and to their Redeemer, of all the appellations and epithets of passion not appropriate to the object. To this last great object, especially such forms of expression are occasionally applied, as must excite a revolting emotion in a man who feels that he cannot meet the same being at once on terms of adoration and of caressing equality.'—Foster's Essays, 13th edit. p. 252.

We cannot refrain from citing one or two sentences in the same connexion which depict with equal force of satire and propriety of taste a class once rendered notorious by such names as Huntingdon and Hawker, but now we hope gradually filtering through the dregs of society into the oblivion they deserve.

'You may meet with a christian polemic, who seems to value the

\* Melville's Sermons, pp. 19, 20.

† Ib. pp. 146, 7.



arguments for evangelical truth as an assassin values his dagger, and for the same reason ; with a descender on the invisible world, who makes you think of a popish cathedral, and from the vulgarity of whose illuminations you are glad to escape into the solemn twilight of faith ; or with a grim zealot for such a theory of the divine attributes and government as seems to delight in representing the Deity as a dreadful king of furies, whose dominion is overshadowed with vengeance, whose music is the cries of victims, and whose glory requires to be illustrated by the ruin of his creation.'—Foster's Essays, 13th Edition. p. 253.

Next in order as an intellectual and literary performance, and scarcely second to it in popularity and usefulness, stands the essay on Popular Ignorance, with which in some of its editions is appropriately published his celebrated sermon in defence of christian missions. We have already stated that Mr. Foster was one of the earliest and certainly by far the most powerful advocate of a comprehensive scheme of popular education. And much as that subject has grown upon the public mind during subsequent years, we may confidently assert that no new arguments have been urged in its favour since the date of this publication, though it was written in times of the deepest darkness and the grossest prejudice, ere yet 'the march of intellect' had become a proverbial phrase familiar to the lowest classes of society. So full is the essay on Popular Ignorance of deep truth and comprehensive thought, that any thing like a faithful analysis of it would be well-nigh impossible. Such an attempt would almost involve the re-composition of the volume. There are, however, some views developed in it which the subsequent position of affairs has rendered too important to be passed by without particular notice.

One of the peculiarities of the present age is the degree in which christians and christian ministers exert themselves for the promotion of great political objects ; not as selfish or factious partizans, but in the spirit, and as they think under the implied commands, of their religion. This interference has been conspicuous in the history of the movements in favour of religious equality, commercial freedom, and the further reform of the representative system. It was naturally to be expected that the introduction of so much high-principled earnestness into political contests should awaken the apprehension and the censure of those who are hostile to the progress alike of civil and religious freedom. We are told that such persons are stepping out of their province, secularizing their minds, and impairing their usefulness ; and no doubt if their exertions were put forth in a certain spirit, such would be the inevitable result. But do the same censures fall on those good men who devote an equal proportion of their attention to the interests of our public charities ?

Are *they* not loaded with eulogy and respect, although their object is purely secular? And why, we may well ask, may that attention be lawfully expended on humane societies and hospitals, whose benign operations are limited to individual cases, which is denied to those systems which starve the bodies, destroy the lives, and degrade and ruin the souls of classes to be counted by millions. Yet to the latter category of evils those efforts have reference which, conducted ever so mildly but at the same time energetically by the advocates of civil and religious freedom, are visited with the severest censure by those who have neither the ability to lead nor the courage to follow.

In this condemned class Mr. Foster cheerfully and even emulously places himself. And as the feeling which forbids this interference is perhaps increasingly prevalent among *respectable* dissenters, while it amounts to a mania among the 'stupidly good' of the endowed sect, it may not be amiss to introduce a few observations from our author, especially as the classes to which we refer impress us with a shrewd suspicion that they are among the number for whose benefit the essay on Popular Ignorance was specially intended.

'This interdiction comes with its worst appearance when it is put forth in terms affecting a profound reverence of religion; a reverence which cannot endure that so holy a thing should be defiled by being brought in any contact with such a subject as the manner in which the intellectual and moral state of the people is affected by the general conduct of the ruling power. The advocate of schemes for the improvement of their rational nature may take his ground, his strongest ground on religion, for enforcing on individuals the duty of promoting such an object. In the name and authority of religion he may press on their consciences with respect to the application of their property and influence, and he may adopt under its sanction a strongly judicial language in censure of their negligence, their insensibility of their accountability, and their expenditures foreign to the most important uses: in all this he does well. But the instant he begins to make the like judicial application of its laws to the public conduct of the governing authorities (and to make it not in the way of commenting on that conduct on a *general* account, but strictly and specially as it affects the object in question) that instant he debases Christianity to politics, most likely to party-politics; and a pious horror is testified at the profanation. Christianity is to be honoured somewhat after the same manner as the Lama of Thibet. It is to stay in its temple, to have the proprieties of homage duly preserved within its precincts, but to be *exempted* (in reverence of its sanctity!) from all cognizance of great public affairs, even in the points where they most involve its interests. It could shew, perhaps, in what manner the administration of those affairs injures those interests; but it would degrade its character by talking of any such matter. But Christianity must have leave to decline the compliment. As to its sacred character, it can *venture that* on the strength of its intrinsic quality and

of its own guardianship, while in a censorial capacity it steps on what will be called a political ground, so far as to take account of what regard has been shewn, or what means have been left disposable for operations to promote the grand essentials of human welfare by that public system which has grasped and expended the strength of the community. Christianity is not so demure a thing that it cannot, without violating its consecrated character, go into the exercise of this judicial office. And as to its *right* to do so—either it has a right to take cognizance now of the manner in which the spirit and measures of states and their regulators bear upon the most momentous interests, or it will have no right to be brought forward as the supreme law for the final award upon those proceedings and those men.’—Preface to the Essay on Popular Ignorance. pp. 11—13.

In the same preface, we find a masterly exposure of the abortive plan for national education, introduced to parliament, by Henry (now alas! Lord) Brougham, about the year 1821. While the author does honour to the intellectual powers of this singular man, he indicates a profound knowledge of his infirmities, which those are best able to appreciate who have witnessed his subsequent erratic course. The re-perusal of his observations reminds the writer of a very characteristic observation once addressed to him by Mr. Foster, to the effect, that Lord Brougham resembled an elephant in the van of an army;—it was an even chance whether he trod down the enemy or backed his uncouth bulk on those who had availed themselves of so equivocal an alliance.

Did the space to which we must limit our observations allow of it, we should be tempted to quote the passages in which the author demonstrates the utter absurdity of state interference with the religion of the people: \* a train of reasoning which we deliberately regard as altogether unanswerable. We should be tempted too, to cite certain pages which might seem to have been prophetic of Sir James Graham’s National Education Bill; and upon which, whether respecting state education in general, or education in the state religion, no amendment certainly has been made amidst the excitement which that abominable measure has recently occasioned. †

It would be easy to cite a great variety of passages from this singular book which evince such habits of profound and comprehensive reflection, as qualified the author for an almost unlimited censorship of popular fallacies. One train of thought, especially, has struck us as worthy of the deepest attention in these later days, in which the strongest holds of political and ecclesiastical despotism have become the selected objects of popular evasion. We refer to a passage, in which the author ‡

\* See ‘Popular Ignorance,’ p. p. 78, 83. Second Edition.

† Ibid., p.p. 232, 235.

‡ Ibid., p.p. 453, 457.



analyzes, and emphatically condemns, the prudent policy of those who withhold their co-operation from the grandest undertakings, on the ground of the improbability of their success, and the imagined mischiefs which would be consequent on their failure. It would be well, if on the eve of that important movement, now in contemplation, against the connection of the episcopalian or any other denomination with the patronage and power of the state, these invaluable pages were daily read in every dissenting family.

But it would be an endless task to commend to general attention insulated portions of a work, which as a whole, should be familiar to society at large. It is replete with the profoundest thought, pregnant with practical wisdom, and radiant with a genius which is characteristic of the author alone.

The most strictly religious of Mr. Foster's productions is, his introductory essay to Dr. Doddridge's, 'Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.' From our knowledge of our author's theological character, we should have little doubt that, notwithstanding that deep piety which has secured the usefulness of Dr. Doddridge's work, he would have strongly disapproved of the philosophy, (if we may so term it), of the *Rise and Progress*. The book, however, is hardly alluded to in the introductory essay, and even had he wished, which is altogether insupposable, to diminish the number of its readers; he, perhaps, could hardly have better secured his object, than by overlaying it as he did with his own extraordinary essay. It is, indeed, so heart-searching a treatise, so irresistible, except indeed, by a depraved carnality which nothing human can conquer, that we can well imagine a mind of ordinary sensibility shrinking from the perusal of it, lest it should be daring the last remedy which can subdue the human heart to the obedience of faith. We commend it, however, to the careful perusal of all, to the uneducated for its simplicity, to the intellectual for its sublime and hallowed genius, and to all for a majestic and venerable piety, which might seem to invest it with a species of inspiration.

Mr. Foster's dissertation on the character of the late Robert Hall, as a theologian and a preacher, has been the subject of much discussion, and of some dissatisfaction among the admirers of the latter. We are persuaded that no one held that most lamented and most extraordinary man, in greater admiration than John Foster. The originality of his mind, moreover, withheld him from fulfilling the duty allotted to him, by a mere effusion of panegyric. He entered into a complete anatomy of the more public character of his subject; and if certain respectful strictures, (and they certainly are only such), appear in his performance, they may well be justified, as they were by himself,

in that admirable aphorism.—‘The crude admiration that can make no distinctions, never renders justice to what is truly great.’ If in our veneration for the character and genius of Mr. Hall, we are to condole with those who are dissatisfied with Mr. Foster’s analysis of it, we can only do so on the fact, that a man was employed to paint that magnificent landscape, whose sight was strong enough to discern its limits.

To delineate the intellectual character of John Foster would require a genius like his own. We can only undertake to offer a few hints supplied by the study of his writings, and by a personal acquaintance with the author. The character of his mind appears to us to have been pre-eminently reflective and imaginative. John Foster was emphatically a thinker. His life was passed comparatively undisturbed by professional and secular affairs, in the most various and profound contemplation. He thus acquainted himself with almost every subject which bears upon the interests of mankind. He studied the human mind in all its aspects and conditions as few if any have done in past or present times; and we cannot help thinking that the curious tendency of his study, at least in the latter part of his life, to the habits and manners of foreign and even of uncivilized nations, as delineated in the narratives of travellers, was chiefly the result of that law of his mental economy which ever led him from particulars to generals. He seems almost to have completed the study of human nature as it existed around him, and to have reached forward with the characteristic vivacity of his nature to every other aspect under which man, his great study, could be viewed.

His imagination was certainly of the highest order. His sensibility and fancy remind us of Shakespere; his noble and masculine defences of truth, bring home to us the recollection of Milton; and his overwhelming but dignified satire must have suggested to the classic reader the finest passages of Juvenal.

As a theologian he was thoroughly orthodox in the most conventional, and yet in the least sectarian, sense of that term. He received and lived upon the gospel in all its fulness. While too generously catholic to personate the fierce and petty controversialist, he habitually dwelt upon the very heights of evangelical truth; and from that eminence observed the tiny warfare of polemics with an emotion which but for his piety would have been scorn. The vital doctrines of the christian religion entertained by a man of almost superhuman independence, gave their glory to his life, and their support to his mighty mind, in that hour when, only watched by the eye of his great Master, he serenely thought himself away from the restraints of mortality to the glories of a sublimer economy.

The social character of Mr. Foster was attractive in the high-

est degree. His affability and candour were only equalled by those powers of mind which one might have supposed would have found but scanty gratification in the intercourse of ordinary society. His conversation in all its variety was enriched with knowledge, adorned with wit, glowing with kindness, and chastened with piety. In point of originality, few men have equalled John Foster, either as writers or companions. Unlike the two classes of eminent talkers, of the one of whom Johnson may be cited as the type, and Coleridge of the other, he never indulged either in dogmatism with the former, or in monologue with the latter. The fund of his topics was indeed all but universal, extending from the profoundest metaphysics to the most exquisite minutiae of the arts. To the latter, he was devoted with an enthusiasm which constitutes almost an anomaly in his character; and in his visits to the metropolis would seclude himself from the choicest circles of intellectual society to enjoy those collections of art from which he was comparatively debarred in his rural retirement.

In person Mr. Foster was slightly above the middle size. His attire was a standing rebellion against the laws of fashion, which he equally defied in various other respects. His countenance was one of the most striking we have ever seen. His forehead may well be the boast of phrenologists. In some respects, indeed, he retained to old age all the beauty of youth; a fact perhaps dependent in some degree upon that disease which eventually destroyed him. His eye was so luminous, that it seemed a sort of avenue to his soul; and his whole countenance in conversation, which was usually conducted in a low tone of voice, and with comparatively little excitement, fixed the gaze of all who were present as by a species of fascination. It was said of Burke by Dr. Johnson, that no man could stand with him under a gateway to avoid a shower of rain, without being conscious that he was in the presence of the greatest man of his day; and the same may be emphatically said of John Foster.

His writings must live as long as the English language; while the image of his mind, with all the moral results it achieved, will happily remain for ever impressed on that memory which, in his own words, may 'defy the universe to extinguish, absorb, or transmute it.'



## Brief Notices.

*An Essay on the Profession of Personal Religious Conviction, and upon the Separation of Church and State, considered with reference to the fulfilment of that duty. Translated from the French of Professor A. Vinet, of Geneva.* By Charles Theodore Jones. London: Jackson and Walford, 1843, 8vo.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that some months ago we called their attention to Professor Vinet's very important work, from which we gave some copious translations. The work itself received and deserved our strong recommendation. We had no idea at the time we completed the article, that Mr. Jones was so near the end of his task, his translation being advertised at the very time we sent our remarks on the original to the press. Had it appeared earlier it would have saved us some trouble, for we should have gratefully availed ourselves of his version instead of making our own; and even had we known that it was so soon to appear, we should probably have waited for it, that we might give his labours a more ample consideration than we can now do. We can say no less, however, than that his translation appears to us in general to be marked both by great fidelity and considerable elegance. He tells us in his preface, that he has been, as every translator should be, more ambitious of the former quality than of the latter, but he has in a great degree attained both. In the preface, he says 'that his chief aim has been to give a true and faithful version of the original; and this he has done from a sense of duty; he is well aware that had he ventured to make the translation more free, he might have rendered his own work more acceptable to his countrymen, inasmuch as it would have been more truly English. Such as it is, however, he entreats for it a candid perusal.'

While he, not without reason, 'anticipates that the majority of his readers will be found amongst dissenting Christians,' and is well aware, that 'generally speaking, churchmen are too well satisfied with their position as members of the dominant sect, and as possessors of the wealth, learning, and honours of the state-protected party, to wish to be enlightened as to the defects of their system,' he expresses a conviction, in which we participate, 'that there is a superior class of churchmen, both lay and clerical,' (may they be increased a hundred-fold,) 'men of true piety, whose hearts and minds have been imbued with the spirit of truth, having experienced the vivifying effects of the Holy Spirit upon their own consciences,' who 'have learned to respect the consciences and convictions of others.' To give consistency and solidity to the views of such men, many of whom are seeking the truth, but are still wavering about it, we know no work better adapted than that of Professor Vinet. Indeed, we are convinced that it is by the wide diffusion of such works amongst the more influential classes, and of more brief and popular

expositions of the same principles amongst the masses, that the consummation so much desired—the dissolution of the pernicious alliance between the church and the state—must be sought and attained. Agitation is, as in all like cases, the great weapon. When we have *convinced* the public that what we hold is THE TRUTH, the result is inevitable and will follow of itself.

The table of contents is very properly prefixed to the work, instead of being appended to it as in the original. There is also a good index. We heartily wish it an extensive circulation.

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*Outlines for the Pulpit ; or short illustrations of select texts for Evangelical Discourses.* By Adam Thomson, D.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant. London: Hamilton. 12mo.

We have never entertained any very high opinion of the usefulness of 'Sketches of Sermons,' and 'Outlines for the Pulpit.' They are too often an excuse for indolence, and an assistance to those, who either have not the capacity to make their own sermons, or sufficient industry and love for preaching, to sustain an independent and laborious examination of divine truth. Moreover, it is a difficult thing to work up a sketch, prepared by another hand, without giving a pie-bald appearance to the whole; while much of the earnestness and fire consequent on the delivery and enforcement of the preacher's own thoughts and feelings, will for the most part be wanting. There will not be that sense of integrity, that dependance on divine teaching, which impart life, force, and truthfulness to a really good sermon. If, however, their use were confined to the purposes of suggestion, we should regard them as on the whole, a good. But it is notorious that it is not so; partly from the causes already hinted at, and partly from the injudicious manner in which many of such productions are got up.

We must except these 'Outlines' from this general censure. Any one will find it difficult to preach them, without the previous mental process of digestion. They are eminently *suggestive*. There is no particular regard paid to the style of expression. Few sentences are finished. They are Outlines—and very excellent ones too,—and as far as we are able to judge, are judicious and useful.

The preface is short, but important. Some excellent truths are forcibly stated. Dr. Thomson justly attaches the highest importance to the Scripturalness of a discourse.—'It is not the words which man's wisdom teacheth'—not the style of language, however pure or refined—nor numerous figures, however elegant and happily introduced—nor bursts of imagination, however seemingly powerful—nor appeals to the passions, however eloquent—nor philosophical reasoning, however profound and demonstrative—but 'the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth,' that enlighten, and support, and sanctify, and save the souls of men.

In the 'Outlines,' the author has fully exemplified these views.

The references to Scripture are numerous, appropriate, and forcible; and display a deep acquaintance with the oracles of God. We could have wished that he had not so uniformly adhered to the textual form in the construction, as in many cases the *topical* would have given variety and freedom. In some few cases we observed odd and ungrammatical modes of expression which doubtless escaped his eye. Our limits will not permit us to notice separately those discourses which we deem most excellent, nor admit of suggestions, in those instances where we think improvements might be introduced. We can most cordially recommend the work, as eminently adapted to the end for which it was prepared.

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## Literary Intelligence.

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### *Just Published.*

New Sketches of Every Day Life: a Diary, together with Strife and Peace. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. 2 vols.

The Highlands of Ethiopia. By Major W. Cornwallis Harris, E. I. C. Engineers. 3 vols. 8vo.

A Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late William Taylor, of Norwich, with Correspondence. By J. W. Robberds, F.G.S. 2 vols.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto, assisted by various able scholars and divines. Part IX.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology. Edited by Wm. Smith, LL.D. Ph.D. Part V. Bubares—Cato.

The Child's Picture and Verse Book, commonly called Otto Speckter's Table Book. Translated into English by Mary Howitt.

The Anglican Church in the Nineteenth Century; indicating her relative position to dissent in every form; and presenting a clear and unprejudiced view of Puseyism and orthodoxy. Translated from the German of F. Uhden by W. C. C. Humphreys.

The Life and Adventures of Jack of the Mill, commonly called Lord Othmill, created for his eminent services Baron Waldeck and Knight of Kitcottie, a Fireside Story. By William Howitt. With forty illustrations on wood. 2 vols.

The Epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Epistle to Diognetus. Edited from the text of Hefele, with an introduction and notes. By Algernon Grenfell, M.A.

The Happy Transformation; or the History of a London Apprentice: an authentic narrative, communicated in a series of letters, with a preface. By W. H. Pearce. 3d edition.

Memoirs and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant, of Laggan. Edited by her son, J. P. Grant, Esq. 3 vols.

Guide for Writing Latin; consisting of Rules and Examples for practice. By J. P. Krebs, D.Ph. Translated from the German. By Samuel H. Taylor, Andover, Massachusetts.

Scripture Truths in verse for the use of the Young; being an attempt to exhibit in easy descriptive poetry some of the all-important lessons contained in the Old Testament subjects.